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## ART. I.—THE FISHERIES OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY THE LATE J. A. BOYLE, MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE.

THE name that the first European settlers gave to the South-Eastern shore of India—'La Pêcherie'—the Fishery, marks very clearly what they found to be the distinctive occupation of the coast-dwellers. The shallow, tepid sea of Manaar teems with fish of every form; while as soon as the coral reefs are passed, the deep waters outside are the home of the finest of tropical fishes, the seer, which, at its full size of forty pound's weight, rivals in quality and daintiness of flesh the most highly-prized fish of colder seas.

There are indeed very few species of fish that are of any real value, for the seer and the pomphret and the mullet make up the list of edible fishes in the Englishman's sense; though a local villager will eat anything from a skate to a hammer-headed shark.

There is an air of desolation and barrenness about these tropical seas that can hardly fail to strike those who sail them. Scarcely a gull or kittiwake breaks the silence of the sea or the burning expanse of sky. Now and again a porpoise—*wongei* or Roller, as the Tamilians call him—heaves his great barrel-form above a wave, and rolls on again into deep water: or a shark's fin shows his dreaded presence, as he makes the lesser fishes flee before him. Miniature sword-fish dart hither and thither through the blue waters as it seems with no more resistance than an arrow through the air.

But above, the signs of life are rare; and one misses sorely the merry swallows and the chattering gulls to flit above the ship and dash into the water, and to remind us of life above the dead and barren sea.

Rich treasures, however, lie buried five fathoms deep; for there the sea has its pearls, and there it hides those chank or conch shells, which carry good fortune as a gift of the gods, and are some

times worth their weight in gold. Thus, the fishermen of this coast have been tempted more than others to learn how to win its treasures from the sea. And ages of toil have given them supreme skill in the search, whether for living or dead prizes, for fish or shells.

They are, therefore, born fishermen from the time when they crawl out of their mother's arms to paddle in the last ripples of the surf, to the day when their poor breath has all been spent in toiling in and beneath the sea, and they no longer have strength to dive or haul the net, but can only sit at home and weave nets for their sons to cast.

No spoil is too little for them, as no toil is too great. You will see a whole village empty itself of men and boys, who will each arm himself with a funnel-shaped basket, and, carrying a smaller crate round his waist, will proceed to pounce down on any unwary fish that he sees in the shallow water.

This is the simplest, but the most exciting form of fishery. The fishers spread in a long thin line right across a shallow river's mouth, when the tide is low, and walk slowly up-stream, keeping their baskets above their heads ready to strike.

Then as each man sees a tiny fish darting in fright through the shallow water, he skilfully follows the ripple of its course and dashes the hollow basket down upon it as it swims.

To catch sight of the prey, to strike down upon it, and with the free hand to draw it up through the funnel open at the top, and drop it into the basket at his girdle, are actions that succeed one another almost before the untrained eye can trace the darting fish. The hits and the misses, the rivalry and excitement of the sport, breed a constant flow of fun and laughter, which gives to this kind of fishery a popularity that its tiny prizes could hardly secure for it on other terms.

At other times the big net of the village is taken out and laid down by two boats about half a mile from shore. This must be where the ground is smooth and shelving, and free from rocks or coral reefs. Starting from the centre of the arc furthest from land, each boat lays the net round the semicircle, and at last lands the end ropes upon the beach.

Then the fun commences ; men and boys, singing as they work, slowly drag the great net to shore, twisting and coiling it as it comes, so that it will be taut and ready for use again to-morrow. The strain is great and the hauling heavy ; and they are all eager for the end, when the belly of the net comes up and shows its various treasures, struggling against their fate, and battling to regain the deep waters from which they have been drawn so stealthily.

These fisher people have many wiles by which to compass their game. One would think that the poor fish were the wisest and



wariest of creatures instead of the most foolish, by the number of stratagems that man takes to ensnare them. Their love of light costs them their liberty, when on dark nights they follow the torches in the fishers' boats and, leaping madly at the blaze, fall helpless into the enemies hands. They fall, too, by their terror, when a long line of boats advances with a clattering of planks and beating of boards, which the fish tremble to hear above and around them, and, rushing forwards to escape, are caught by the opposing nets held by another line of their fisher-foes. If they lie in the wash of the waves in shore, the cast line of the wading angler takes them. If they keep in the deep water they are caught by the far-encircling net, which they only discern when it is too late, and the choice lies between a death by stranding in the shallows and by strangling in the meshes. The best and most successful fisher of these seas is, however, not the native of this coast, but the visitor from the island of Ceylon. Hardly a happy experiment in the science of boat-building distinguished the early efforts of the Singhali savage. He found the right shape for a fast-sailing canoe to be that of the rudely-hollowed palmyra-tree : but to make it ride more safely under a wide sail, he threw out from one side an out-rigger of a simple beam, bound to the boat by slightly convex ribs about fifteen feet long. Thus securely balanced his slim canoe walks the water like a very thing of life, and under a fair breeze scuds so fast, that no fish, even the oldest and most prudent, can resist the bright bait that trails behind and flashes through the water without a warning sound. This the big Seer-fish sees and covets ; to covet is to follow, and to follow is to die ; and so the richest prizes of the sea fall, to the simplest of all fishers in the rudest of all craft.

If any one can afford to laugh at civilisation, its complex machinery, and its manifold wants, that man is the fisherman of La Pêcherie. The sea is his home ; and the barren sands that the sea throws up yield to him without an effort all that he wants to support his life. The palmyra tree and the cocoa-palm alternate in fringing the shore. Either would enable him to live, the two together give him luxury. They will feed him with their fruit and juices, clothe him with their pliant and warm fibres, house him with their boughs and leaves, float him across the sea on his "Kattamaram" or bound tree ; and he will drag fish from the deep with net or line, woven from the same fibre. There is something almost ludicrous in the simplicity with which these coast-men live. They never suffer from famine ; for the sea food never fails for long, and the small store of salt fish that the commonest prudence bids them keep, suffices to protect them from rare intervals of adverse winds and ill success at sea. They are therefore, quiet, contented folk, anxious for nothing so much as to be let

alone, which, owing to the unattractiveness and inaccessibility of their homes is a wish generally gratified.

The most remarkable feature about them is perhaps their religion. Christians and Roman Catholics they are, almost to a man; and the vitality of their faith, though now opposed to little trial, has been in the past proved by the seductions, if not the persecutions, of the Lutheran Governors of the Dutch settlements of Tuticorin, and the other ports on the mainland and Ceylon.

It is recorded that when the Paravas and other fishing tribes of the coast were urged by the Dutch Missionaries to desert the old for the Reformed Ritual; their answer was so practical as to be more baffling than a thousand puzzles of casuistry. They asked for positive demonstration that the new Creed was more powerful than the old. 'Begin' they said, to their would be converters, 'by raising a dozen or so of dead men to life. St. Francis Xavier revived five or six dead men on this coast. Do you cure all our sick, and make these seas more rich in fish than they now are, *et nous verrons*. From such a test the worthy Lutherans recoiled and the result is that the fishermen are still members either of the Goanese or Jesuit Catholic Church.

Perhaps the most note-worthy sign of their creed is the strictness with which they renounce all work on the Sabbath. And thus, by the teaching of Portuguese Missionaries, a Semitic festival has been engrafted on Dravidian Custom!

The interest, however, and importance which attach to the ordinary fisheries of this coast are small compared to those of the two special fisheries, first of chank shells and second of Pearl oysters.

No better account could be given of these industries than that of Father Martin, the resident Jesuit of the Ramnad Mission, 170 years ago. The Dutch, he says, who were then in occupation of Tuticorin and the neighbouring ports, derived handsome profit from the two fisheries of pearls and chanks.

'Le Xanxus sout de gros coquillages semblables a ceux qui on a coutume de peindre aux mains des Tritons.'

These are, we presume, the 'wreathed horns' that Wordsworth desired to hear the 'old Triton' a-blowing; but it is a dismal sound enough, as it echoes from the dim chambers of some pagoda about night-fall.

Apart from their classic connection with Tritons, the chanks have a Hindu legend of their own, which tells how when Sagara was fleeing from Indra, he hid himself in a chank shell beneath the sea; and ever since men have been searching for it; and when a shell is found that curves on the reverse line from left to right, the happy possessor has a treasure indeed, for this may be perchance the very shell that sheltered the Deity.



The chanks are found along a small stretch of coast from Trichendur to Pamben, but the main points from which the fishery is worked are Kilakarei in the Ramnad territory, and Tuticorin on the South in Tinnevelly. They lie scattered here and there along the bottom in from two to five fathoms of water, so that the divers have to plunge from their boats and grope over the bottom till their hands have gathered as many shells as they can bring to the surface. To hold the shells they carry a bag tied round their neck and cases have been known in which the diver in his eagerness has filled his bag so full, that he could not rise to the surface and has thus fallen a victim to his skill and courage.

Twenty chanks are a very good haul for one plunge; and it may be thence presumed that the shells are not quite so colossal in size as the pictures of Classical Tritons with "wreathed horns" would lead us to expect. In fact a chank is a small voluted shell about six inches long, and with a diameter ranging from two to four inches. The fish is of course alive in the shell when gathered, and the death and decomposition of the fish, which have to take place before the shell is fit for the market, render a chank store-room any thing but a pleasant spot.

Father Martin's description of the fishery in 1700, shows that the management has not changed at all down to the present day. It is now, as it was then, a strict monopoly, in Ramnad of the Zemindar, and in Tinnevelly of the Government. Yearly leases of the fishery are the commonest method of management; and the rents paid along the whole line now amount to £1,500, of which the Tinnevelly fishery yields £1,000. The strictness of the monopoly under the Dutch is expressively indicated by Father Martin, who says that it would have cost a native his life to sell a chank shell without permission. The market was then, as it is now, Bengal and Upper India, but it has to be treated very carefully, and soon resents a too liberal supply of shells by a fall of price that renders the fishery unremunerative.

The maintenance of a Government monopoly over such a mere trifle as a fishery of £1,000 a year, is not very creditable to the liberality of the Indian Government. To the poor fishermen and divers the removal of the monopoly would be a signal boon. They cannot of course afford to lie out of their money for months or even for years while the distant market slowly absorbs the precious shells. And the result to them of the monopoly is that they are bound hand and foot to the merchants, who buy up the chanks and put them into the market gradually as the demand arises.

The fishing season lasts from October to March, after which date the breezes and currents from the S. W. stir up the sand and

make diving impossible. The diver therefore has six months' work followed by six months' idleness ; during which interval he cannot keep himself from his previous earnings, because he may not store shells, and he is too drunken and improvident to store money.

He is therefore content to be fed by the merchant all the year round ; and becomes, in consideration of constant rice and unfailing arrack, a very bond slave to his master. The master may be a kind master, sometimes he is a harsh and exacting one, but to either master the diver is a slave ; and slavery means debasement, and loss of all motive to industry and improvement. The monopoly removed, slavery would cease. The diver with his boat would soon become, if he was not at once, master of the situation. If he struck for higher pay, none could tempt the shells from the deep instead of him. He could and would doubtless store during the off season such shells as would bring him food ; and he might gradually grow into the petty trader, and free himself from the bonds that now keep him down. The fishermen are almost all of one brotherhood, all Paravas by caste ; and the power of combination that caste organisation supplies, would be powerful to contend against the capitalists with whom Government now deals. Whether the results would be purely good or not, matters little. The fact remains that the Madras Government (all unknowingly it is true, but none the less undoubtedly) for a poor monopoly of £1,000 a year, condemns a large class of fishermen to slavery and helplessness and poverty. A small price this to pay for the emancipation of a man. How much more should it ungrudgingly be given, when it will buy the freedom and prosperity of a whole trade. Of the monopoly in Ramnad it is useless to speak. In that favored land the only free thing for the use of which the people pay nothing is the air of heaven ; and that would doubtless be taxed, if it could be dammed up and sluiced out like tank-water. There is a rent on land, and a rent on water ; a rent for grass, and a rent for trees. A man cannot light a fire without paying rent for the firewood ; nor build a house without paying successive fees for the bricks and the mortar and the stone, and the thatch. If he steals away to a desert island off the coast, and fills his boat with firewood, the zemindari agent sees him and extorts a fee. If he digs up coral from the distant reefs and brings it ashore to build a poor wall, the fee-hunter overtakes him and doubles the cost. It is therefore natural that the sacred shells should pay their rent, for a few thousand rupees are a rich prize to a landlord, who is careful to extort annas. But that a liberal Government should follow the fisherman to sea, and seize its dues from the struggling diver, is an error of policy, no less than a neglect of common humanity ; which would probably be rectified, if only it were understood.



Another of the strange things that this sea yields, is the sea slug or "attei," a dreadful looking creature like a flattened sausage, but tough and mottled and generally repulsive. These Vampire slugs are about 9-12 inches long and 3 or 4 broad; and are gathered from the same ground as that on which the chanks lie. They are exported, after being dried, through Ceylon to China, where with birds' nests and puppies and similar delicacies they are greatly relished by Chinese epicures.

As the Chank bears a generally bad character as a depredator, and is numbered among the most active enemies of the Pearl Oyster, it may well be that it shares with the omnivorous Chinaman the pleasure of eating sea slugs.

And if an additional reason were wanted for the removal of the restrictions now placed upon the chank fishery, it is supplied by this object of protecting the far more valuable oysters. The ordinary objection to such a course lies in the alleged danger to the oysters themselves of indiscriminate fishing and diving. But under efficient supervision there need be nothing indiscriminate in the prosecution of this industry. Obviously it would be as easy as it would be wise to prohibit diving over banks on which were oysters approaching maturity; and on other banks the divers, who are themselves most keenly interested in the success of the Pearl Fishery, would have no temptation whatever to touch anything but the chanks and attei. Apart from the evil of the present monopoly in pauperising the fishermen of the coast, and making them the dependants of moneyed strangers; the chanks, if they are vermin of the sea, are now nourished and fostered in the game-preserve by the monopoly of their fishery. From two points only of the whole coast, Kilakarei and Tuticorin, is this fishery now worked, simply because there live the renters, and there only are the shells stored; while as the divers can only work at a short distance from their homes, it is only in the immediate neighbourhood of these ports that the chanks are systematically gathered. Thus along all the intervening banks for about fifty miles of sea these poachers and pearl destroyers are allowed to multiply and work their wicked will undisturbed. If the fishermen worked (as we should wish to see them work) with a yearly boat license of fifty rupees the fishing villages along the coast would share in the industry, and would act as the game-keepers of all the oyster banks on the coast. To suppose that they would be constantly damaging and plundering the Pearl oyster beds, is to suppose first, that the supervision of the fishery has lost all its keenness; and secondly, that the fishermen would not be the first to recognize and to pursue their own best interest in a flourishing oyster-preserve. Both of which suppositions are as improbable as they are gratuitous. Thus the relinquishment of this miserable monopoly

would not only be no loss, but a very real gain. It is probable that the boat licenses by increasing the prosperity of the fishermen and thus gradually enabling them to put more boats into the trade would not for long, if it did at first, result in a loss of Revenue to Government ; as the licenses themselves would bring almost as much to hand as the present sales by auction and if there were only a slight and perhaps no loss of Revenue there would be indirect gain, from two sources, of the best and most permanent kind.

First to the fishermen, in the freedom of their industry ; second to the Pearl Fishery in the clearing of the banks of the poaching chank.

The one will help to raise the divers of *La Pêcherie* from an indigent, indolent and drunken crew, dependent on the promises of capitalists and without a motive to frugality and thrift, into independent boat owners, with money in their hands, a store of shells on shore, and good boats at sea.

The other will (if naturalists do not malign the chank) prevent that wicked mollusc from doing as much harm as he now does to the poor oysters that are as tender and helpless as they are valuable. These are arguments for the abolition of the chank monopoly which seem to us of some weight. What arguments there may be per contra we have tried, but have still to learn.

Of the Pearl Fishery of Southern India the literature is considerable, and its chronicles begin with the first records of Indian travel.

Nor has the subject lacked hitherto its 'vates sacer' ; for Mr. Clements Markham has not only collected much of the history of the subject ; but has also by his personal activity and interest in their prosperity proved himself the good genius of the poor oysters.

If those molluscs have hitherto shown themselves incapable of gratitude towards their patron, and declining to secrete pearls for the public, have too often and too long succeeded in secreting themselves and their interesting family altogether : the prize is still worth trying for ; and there is nothing to show that success is unattainable.

So ancient is this Pearl Fishery that the author of the "*Periplus Maris Erythræi*" speaks of it as an established industry, worked in his time by galley-slaves, who were stationed at Kolkhi, then an appanage of the Pandian Kingdom of Madura, and probably the residence of a prince of that house. Certain errors of topography and description have gathered round Mr. Clements Markham's account of this early fishery, which may as well be corrected.

They are contained in this paragraph : "The head quarters of the fishery were then, and indeed, from the days of



"Ptolemy to the 17th century continued to be, at Choyl or Kayal "or Sael (as Barbosa has it) literally the 'temple'. This place is "according to Dr. Vincent, the Kora of Ptolemy, the Kholki of "the author of the Periplus, the Coil or Choyl of the travellers "of the middle ages, and the Ramana Koil (Temple of Rama) "of the natives. This would place it on the sacred promontory "of Ramanad, or the Island of Rameswaram. But it is more "probable that the true locality which was the head quarters of "the Pearl Fishery from time immemorial is to be found at "or near the modern salt station of Coilnopatam, on the coast "between Trichendur and Tuticorin." By a confusion of names and places, several different towns, separated by many miles of coast, are here identified as one and the same.

Ramana kovil, or the temple of Rama, stands on the Island of Rameswaram, which lies not less than one hundred miles to the north of Kolkhi the old fishing station of the Periplus and Ptolemy.

Both these places, however, are different from 'koil, or choyl' more accurately identified as 'kayal', 'the backwater', which lies in front of and around the site of old Korkhi. The similarity between the Tamil words 'kôvil', a church or temple, and 'kayal' an estuary or backwater, renders this confusion natural; but the identification of the old sites is interesting, especially to one who knows the features of the coast; as he can thereby realise a picture of the old world that lies 17 centuries behind him. Then, as now, the Pearl banks dotted the coast from the sandy island of Rameswaram southwards to the mouth of the Tâmbraparni river. But the fishing centres were probably fixed both at the northern and southern extremities, at Rameswaram, and at Korkhi.

Physically the coast has changed somewhat since those distant days. The 'kayal' or backwater which then washed the banks of old Korkhi, and received just below the town the wide and winding mouths of the river, now lies, a dry and barren swamp, above the reach of the sea, and only flooded twice a year by the river's freshes.

Korkhi (kolchoi), the modern 'Korkei,' now stands well inland, and can scarcely hear the echo of the distant surf. The sailors of the Periplus steered their small craft over the bar of the Tambrapurni, and anchored off the town of Kolchoi; where the slaves were kept, who fished the pearls for the Pandian King. The bank on which they gathered "these treasures of an oyster" still carries a precious nursery; but of the palace of the prince or of the prisons of the felon-divers not a crumbling ruin remains.

As for the 'Sael' of Barbosa, it can hardly by any freak of mispronunciation have been got out of Kayal or kovil. But most pre-

bably the old Portugal trader refers to a Ceylon fishery, for he writes in 1500 that "near the island of Coulam there was a pearl bank, which was fished by people from a city called Saël, belonging to the King Coulam." If 'Sael' baffles conjecture, 'Coulam' must surely be 'Colombo'; which is still the name popularly used in Southern India to designate the whole island of Ceylon.

So the chronicle is carried on from century to century; Greeks and Venetians, Portuguese and Dutch, succeed one another in an unceasing stream of treasure-seeking traders. The fabled wealth of India, a fable which still clings to the country like a Nessus-shirt, in spite of chronic famine and general poverty, never ceased to attract the jewel-hunters of Europe, who found what they sought along the shores of "La Pêcherie."

Mr. Markham has gathered from the narratives of these old travellers a considerable store of information; but as it is rather of the Pearl Fishery as it is, than as it has been, that we wish to speak, it will be enough to note the account given by one, whose careful description, Mr. Markham has not noticed.

Cæsar Fredericke was a Portuguese jeweller, who wandered from Bussora to Kurrachee, and thence to Goa, and so to Vijayanagar, the capital of the then dominant dynasty of Hindu Rayar. Courage was not wanting to him, nor cunning both to bear and to forbear. After a brisk trade in gems at Vijayanagar, the mart of diamonds and rubies, the bold merchant started for the coast, and was on the road stripped and robbed of every thing he possessed, and even wore and carried, except his simple bamboo walking stick. Yet was he no beggar, though naked; for the stick contained the whole of his jewel store and so he made his way to the coast again, where his magic wand made him wealthy. From Goa he passed southwards, and came round to the eastern coast to trade in pearls, and thus he describes "the fishing for pearls."

"The sea that lieth between the coast which descendeth from Cao Comori to the low land of Chilas, and the island Zeilan, they call the fishing of pearls; which fishing they make every year beginning in March or April, and it lasteth fifty days; but they do not fish every year in one place, but one year in one place and another year in another place of the same sea. When the time of this fishing draweth near then they send very good divers, that go to discover where the greatest heaps of oysters be, under water, and right against that place where greatest store of oysters be, there they make or plant a village with houses and a bazar, all of stone.

"The fishermen are all Christians of the country, and pay a certain duty to the King of Portugal, unto the Churches of the Friars of St. Paul, which are on that coast. All the while that they are fishing there are three or four Fustes armed, to defend



the fishermen from robbers. It was my chance to be there one time, in my passage, and I saw the order that they used in fishing which is this. There are three or four barks that make consort together which are like to our little pilot boats, and a little less; there go 7 or 8 men in a boat; and I have seen in a morning a great number of them go out and anchor in 15 or 18 fathom of water, which is the ordinary depth of all that coast. When they are at anchor, they cast a rope into the sea, and at the end of the rope they make fast a great stone, and then there is ready a man that hath his nose and his ears well stopped, and anointed with oil, and a basket about his neck or under his left arm; then he goeth down by the rope to the bottom of the sea, and as fast as he can, he filleth the basket, and when it is full he shaketh the rope, and his fellows that are in the bark haul him up with the basket; and in such wise they go one by one, until they have laden their bark with oysters, and at evening they come to the village, and then every company maketh their mountains or heaps of oysters, one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long row of mountains or heaps of oysters, and they are not touched until such time as the fishing be ended; and at the end of fishing every company sitteth round about their mountain or heap of oysters and fall to opening of them, which they may easily do, because they be dead, dry, and brittle. And if every oyster had pearls in them it would be a very good purchase, but there are very many that have no pearls in them. When the fishing is ended, then they see whether it be a good gathering or a bad. There are certain experts in the pearls whom they call Chitiny, which set and make the price of pearls according to their carats, beauty and goodness, making four sorts of them. The first sort be the round pearls, and they be called aia of Portugal, because the Portugals do buy them. The second sort, which are not round, are called aia of Bengala. The third sort which are not so good as the second, they called aia of Canara, that is to say, the kingdom of Bzenegar (Vijayanagar). The 4th and last sort, which are the least and worst sort, are called aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being set, there are merchants of every country which are ready with their money in their hands, so that in a few days all is bought up at the prices set according to the goodness and carats of the pearls."

The only error that marks this description is the exaggeration of the depth in which the divers work. They seldom go beyond ten fathoms and the banks lie for the most part in from 5 to 10 fathoms of water. Otherwise his account of a pearl fishery is as accurate today as it was three centuries ago.

Of the Dutch *regime* a good account is given by Père Martin, Jesuit Missionary of "La Pêcherie" in 1700. The fishing tribes

of the coast, converted to Christianity by Xavier, were the spiritual children of Father Martin; who had both a keen eye to observe and a ready pen to describe the pursuits of his disciple-fishermen.

Unlike the Chank fishery which they strictly monopolised and managed by their own agents, the Dutch left the pearl-oyster fishery open to all who chose to engage in it. Licenses were given for boats without restriction, the fee for each being sixty crowns. The number of boats engaged is stated at six hundred; so that the probable income to the Dutch Company could not have been less than £10,000 a year. Captain Hamilton writing of the same period estimates this revenue at £20,000, but this is probably an over estimate, as the first English fisheries of 1822 and 1830 yielded a profit of £13,000 and £10,000 each.

Those were the 'palmy days of the drama,' where the boats were moored so close together that the divers fought for the precious shells along the deep sea-floor. Strange stories linger of deeds done beneath the sea. They tell of a diver who was robbed by a rival of shells which he had gathered: and who avenged the fraud by concealing a knife in his girdle at the next plunge, and stabbing the thief to the heart as he groped along the coral reefs. No eye saw the deed, and the corpse and the blood stained water alone bore witness to it. Another hated diver was, they say, doomed to a more dreadful and no less secret death. They seized him at the bottom of the sea, and tied his long beard to the branching coral-stalks, and left him thus to struggle and drown.

These may be the fables of the fishery; but pearls doubtless have the same power to urge men to evil that gold has.

Father Martin had a very low opinion of his disciples' diving-power, when he wrote that they could only plunge seven or eight times a day. A good diver will descend at least one hundred times and gather at each plunge about thirty shells.

Then, too, success was secured by propitiating the blessing of Heaven, and holy Mother Church received her share of the sea's treasures from her faithful disciples; while each crew of Hindu divers devoted to the shrine of Rama at Rameswaram, or of Subramaniaswâmi, at Trichendur, the two most famous temples of the coast, the first fruits of their pearls. The gems may still be seen, all smoke-tinted and ruined in the jewellery of the temples. Upon these offerings depended the fortunes of the fishery, so that the worthy Father records with sad earnestness, that when the fishery failed in 1709, the heavy change was directly attributed to the resentment of heaven at the omission to fee sufficiently the local churches.

Now, alas, the evil has gone so far that not the most munificent endowment of the pagodas can restore the yearly fishery, and



rationalists have of late years been found to point to more material causes, shifting sand-banks, mud-bearing currents and the like, as a more complete and satisfactory explanation of the disappearance of the oysters from their old haunts. The failure that began in 1709, has become almost permanent in 1870. Not a pearl has been gathered since 1866, and hopes alone are entertained that a fishery, on a small scale, may be possible about three years hence.

Financially this Indian Pearl Fishery is a mere bagatelle ; with out going so far as to say that it costs more than it yields, it may safely be said that as a source of revenue to the Government of India, it is beneath notice. In 1861 the fishery yielded £22,000 ; in 1862 the nett receipts amounted to about £12,000, while against this income must be set a yearly expenditure of about £600, on the establishment which supervises and protects the Fishery, together with cost of vessels, etc., supplied for the same service.

Apart, however, from finance, Pearls and Pearl Oysters have a sentimental and poetical surrounding, which like the so-called sentimental reasons against direct taxation, no Finance minister can overlook. It would be as poor-spirited to abandon a Pearl Fishery which has lived for twenty centuries, because the two sides of the account will not quite balance, as it would be mean for the thrifty heir of a free-handed country squire to sell his father's silver pheasants, or to send his favourite old cob to the hammer, or to let one wing of the old manor-house to a new hotel company. The McCullochs and Humes of rigid economical principles denounce his sentimental regard for his father's pets and his tender feelings for the family mansion ; but the world will admire him if he refrains, and denounce him, if he yields to the stern teaching of economy. Thus too the Indian Government, amidst all its financial sorrows, with an "inelastic " land revenue, and a little cloud (of Income tax) ever on the horizon, though now 'no bigger than a man's hand,' may still be allowed their little luxury. Conceive the situation of the upright Secretary who after writing from the India Office a peremptory order for the immediate abandonment of the Pearl Fishery, were to go home and tell his wife and daughters what he had done. What would figures avail against the battery of arguments to which he would be exposed ? Feminine arguments are above figures and beside facts ; but here the victim would be exposed to most practical reasoning, drawn from the cost of bridal jewellery and the absolute need of pearl necklaces !

Thus it would now be as unfair to expect a modern Finance minister to abolish the Pearl Fishery, as it would have been unreasonable in Cleopatra to present Antony with a bill for the gem which he swallowed in vinegar.

The Pearl Fishery is of the things that must and will be; which being so, it may not be out of place to notice what prospect there is of its recovery and financial success.

It is only of late years that any body has understood the most elementary facts about the Pearl Oyster. The scientific observations of Dr. Kelaart in Ceylon formed the basis of the knowledge that now exists; and the principal facts which he established are that Pearl Oysters are not stationary, as was supposed, but can walk about, like men and women, except that each has only one leg, that they are very hardy creatures, not particular to salt water or brackish, deep sea or shallow estuary; that they are gregarious and go from place to place, in search of food, or to avoid offensive mud or currents of fresh water. Another noteworthy fact is that your large steady Oyster who has lived all his life in one place, leading a calm aldermanic existence, getting his food regular, and with no carking cares to fret him, is pretty sure to secrete never a pearl, but to fill his shell with his own fat flesh and nothing more valuable whatever. Sweet indeed are the uses of adversity, for it makes Oysters secrete pearls, (the connexion of adversity with a pearl oyster is thus far closer than with Shakspear's toad).

As Dr. Kelaart writes "Pearls are generally found in oysters that have been retarded in their growth, and displaced in early life from their position." What a theme for a poet! "Torn from home and all its pleasures," sobs the poor young oyster, as he floats hither and thither in the strong currents of the Indian sea; and to console himself sits him down within his solitary shell and weeps pearly tears. This however is the poetry of Pearldom. The fact is that a pearl is a grain of sand, or an injured egg in the spawning oyster, round which gathers the pearly secretion or 'nacre' which gives it all its beauty.

The effect of Dr. Kelaarts' observations was to found a belief that artificial supplies of Pearl Oysters might be secured by their collection in nurseries, and their careful conservation from inimical influences. A nursery was accordingly proposed by Captain Phipps, the Superintendent of the Tinnevely Pearl Fishery, in 1863; it was commenced in 1864 and completed in 1865. A bank was selected in the middle of the shallow harbour of Tuticorin, and upon it an enclosure was made by walls of loose coral supported by palmyra piles. The walls were 150 yards long and enclosed a space about 6 feet wide to a height of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Within this space, in about 5 feet water, the Oyster spat and fry were deposited upon the rough coral, where they were intended to grow to maturity and to be thence transferred to the Pearl Banks in deep sea.

The carefully matured proposals of Captain Phipps were accord-



ingly sanctioned, and the nursery with no less care constructed. The young oysters were first found, a matter of no little difficulty, and then placed in their new home to live at ease, and grow like Topsy in careless idleness.

But alas! an oyster can no more be compelled to grow than a horse to drink. The ungrateful young molluscs resented this interference with their freedom. They sighed, like the caged linnet, for their freedom; and in short they could not be persuaded to do any thing but die.

The nursery moreover was not only a failure as a home for oysters; but the suspicion arose that this solid obstruction to the waterway, was fast silting up the harbour of Tuticorin. This apprehension was proved afterwards to have been greatly exaggerated, if not wholly groundless; but there was no reason for continuing a project, which was for its own purposes futile, and in other subjects dangerous. So orders were given for the destruction of the nursery, of which nothing now remains but the heads of some piles that still stand up above the sea. Of the cause of this failure no clear comprehension has been formed. Perhaps the shallow waters of the Tuticorin harbour carried too much mud and silt in suspension, which was precipitated within the still waters of the enclosures to the disgust of the dainty Pearl Oysters, that love a clean bed of sand and coral. But whatever the causes that combined to defeat the experiment, of the failure there can be no doubt; and in the face of it future proposals of artificial breeding are unlikely to find favour.

It may however be doubted whether this failure is by any means conclusive to condemn the feasibility of the project. Perhaps in deeper water and in a less confined enclosure a place might be found to suit the whim of the oyster. But the present policy is one of non-intervention. The oysters are left alone to their own sweet will, with only an occasional domiciliary visit, to see that they have not made a moon-light flitting. The little steamer, the 'Margaret Northcote,' which dances about from one Pearl Bank to another, is now the only outward and visible sign of watchful supervision that is taken of the Fishery in posse. It would be adventurous to prophesy when the supply of oysters will suffice to reward an actual Fishery, as these creatures have an awkward way of slipping off their banks into deep sea, where no diver can reach them.

No attempt has hitherto been made by deep-sea dredging to visit and spoil these remoter treasure-houses, but it might be worth considering whether, if the wayward oysters persist in frequenting the deep sea where divers cannot follow, efforts to systematically fish a Pearl Bank by deep-sea dredging might not prove more fruitful of result than elaborate breeding pro-

jects. If the Challenger can drag marvellous lobsters and hitherto unconceived monsters through two miles depth of sea, there would seem to be nothing chimerical in a proposal to find oysters by dredging, and then to fish them by dredging. If the Pearl-Fishery is to be made a success, the oyster must be found; and if they have deserted their old feeding grounds and taken to deeper waters, we must go further a sea to find them. There are also undoubted changes in the coast, since the days when the voyager of the Periplus visited it and saw the convict divers of Kolkhi gathering pearls from the banks hard by.

The common theory is that the fishery has been ruined by over-fishing. But there are many defects in this explanation. In the first place it is inconceivable that a diver would burden himself with useless half grown shells, when full grown oysters only would reward his toil, and it is therefore extremely improbable that any but old oysters were removed from the banks. But banks of full grown oysters cannot be over-fished, for the simple reason that the life of the Pearl Oysters is so short that if he be not removed by the diver, his own thread of life will literally snap or in other words his "byssus" or cable will give way, and he will die off the rock. There is also no reason to believe that young oysters are at all injured by being displaced from their resting place, and thrown back into the sea to find a new home. Dr. Kelaart has established by actual observation and experiment, that young oysters habitually change their home and can with perfect indifference be moved from place to place for purposes of artificial culture.

As a matter of fact moreover it is distinctly stated that the old fisheries were conducted on careful considerations of profit and loss. That immature banks were not fished at all; and that a fishery was only established when a trial haul showed that, the supply of fully grown oysters and of pearls was certain to produce a fixed percentage of profit on the expenses of the fishery. It is therefore extremely doubtful whether the often repeated charge against the Portuguese and Dutch that they killed the goose that laid the golden eggs has any more solid foundation than jealousy of their success and annoyance at our failure. It may therefore be doubted whether any amount of science or care will induce oysters to behave with propriety and come like Hotspur's spirits from the vasty deep when we call them. Whether or no Mr. Clements Markham's humble aspiration, to ensure from the Pearl Fishery "a regular annual return of £10,000 a year at least to the Indian revenue," will be answered favourably is of no great moment. The probabilities appear to be that the balance sheet will in future present by no



means so favourable an appearance. In any case a revenue of £10,000 is of no great moment to a Finance minister who deals yearly with fifty millions, and to avoid disappointment and misunderstanding, the preservation of the Pearl Fishery had better be regarded as the pardonable luxury of an Imperial Government.

If Dukes are allowed to have Deer-forests, surely a fishery of pearls is a pardonable, and perhaps an appropriate luxury for our Indian Empire, itself the brightest jewel, the purest pearl in England's Crown.

ART. II.—THE 'STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE' OF THE  
ENGLISH PRESS IN INDIA.

- 1.—*Life of Lord Metcalfe.* By Sir J. W. Kaye.
- 2.—*Thornton's History of the British Empire.*
- 3.—*Memoirs of a Journalist.* By J. H. Stocqueler.
- 4.—*The (Calcutta) Statesman*, 1875.
- 5.—"Men Whom India has known." By J. J. Higginbotham.
- 6.—*Life of John Thomas.* By C. B. Lewis.
- 7.—*The Indian Year Book.* By Dr. Murdoch.
- 8.—*The Calcutta Review*, June, 1864.

IN 1780, *Hickey's Bengal Gazette*, the first Indian newspaper, was established, eight years before *The Times* was started in England. There has been some discrepancy in the year assigned for the birth of Indian journalism. So high an authority on matters journalistic in India as Sir John William Kaye, in a footnote to the chapter on the liberation of the Indian Press in his "Life of Lord Metcalfe," (vol. ii. p. 134) says of *Hickey's Gazette*, that it was "first published in 1781." Dr. Murdoch, in the "Indian Year Book for 1861" calls the first newspaper in India *Hickey's Calcutta Journal*; and, also, says it was commenced in 1781. Evidently there is a double mis-statement in the last-quoted authority. There was a *Calcutta Journal* in Bengal, but it did not see the light till 1818. Incidentally, and in the absence of the veritable "first copy" of Mr. Hickey's paper, the question of date may be considered set at rest in one particular, and both Sir J. W. Kaye and Dr. Murdoch are shown to be in error in assigning the year 1781 as that which witnessed the birth of the Indian Press. The Rev. C. B. Lewis, of Calcutta, in his "Life of John Thomas,"\* the first English Missionary in India, makes two quotations from *Hickey's Bengal Gazette*, evidently at first hand. One is an extract from the letter of an indignant citizen, respecting the evil sanitary effects of a badly-kept Portuguese burying-ground in the heart of the city of Calcutta, and is dated March, 1780. Again, another correspondent, writing in June of the same year, commenting upon the depravity of social life in Calcutta, is quoted by Mr. Lewis.† It may, therefore, be considered that 1780 (if not, indeed, an earlier

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\* Macmillan & Co., London. 1870.

† Idem. p. 32.



date) and not 1781 has the honour of having recorded in its annals the birth of the newspaper press of India; which, as has been stated, was not many years after this means of expressing public opinion and recording the national life had been in vogue in England.\* This is an instance of how little behind the current thought and practice of the home country Anglo-Indians of the eighteenth century were, as the same community is almost abreast with the best of English social life, intellectually, at the present time.

After a start had been made in Calcutta, Bombay followed by having a newspaper; but so slow was the spread of journalism in India, that only about five papers existed at the beginning of this century, after a lapse of twenty years from the time of starting. It is a truism to say that the newspapers of the eighteenth century will not bear comparison with those of the present time. But, making every allowance for this, the reader who takes up a copy of the diminutive sheets of any year *ante* 1800, and even subsequently, wonders how anybody could have found them entertaining. A few items of local news, followed by a letter here and there from a critical citizen or an aggrieved ratepayer, and both preceded by a very small number of advertisements, with about five-sixths of the remainder of the space occupied with extracts from continental and English papers, represent the contents of the Indian journal of that period. To the resident behind the Mahratta ditch, however, the *Gazette*, or *Chronicle*, or *Journal*, was of very great interest, and as much a stride on the negation which existed before they were started, as the excellent English daily papers of the present time are compared with the infant broad-sheets of nearly a hundred years since. But the journals of those days in Calcutta were not very pecuniarily profitable to their proprietors. They could not strike root because of the general corruption in tone and life which prevailed. Besides, the general apathy, of civilians and military alike, for anything but shaking the pagoda tree and gathering the fruit, made it almost impossible for Anglo-Indian newspapers to be successful. Consequently, until the end of the century, and for twenty years after, only a few newspapers existed, and they in the Presidency towns. Powerful for evil socially, they seem to have counted for little or nothing in the higher and nobler matters which, at all times, concern the body politic. The authorities ignored the existence of the papers except to show in how little esteem they were held; the public cared nothing for what they contained beyond the highly-spiced personal (often prurient) details which formed

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\* Grant's Newspaper Press, Vol. I. *passim*.

such delectable subjects of conversation at the heavy dinner-parties and hard drinking which were then the fashion. The history of the *Indian World*, a newspaper started in 1794, by an Irish-American named William Duane, showed the contempt with which newspaper editors were treated in those times. Mr. Duane had made all arrangements to sell his paper on January 1st 1795; and though he was not assailing the Government at that period, opportunity was taken to show him how heavily the hand of the ruler could smite. On the 27th of December, 1794, he was requested by the Private Secretary of Sir John Shore, Captain Collins, to call at Government House. Duane, conscious of no particular offence, thought this was an invitation to breakfast at the Governor-General's table, given because he was about to leave the country, and was prompt in answering the summons. The following discussion ensued, at Captain Collins meeting Mr. Duane in the ante-room:—

Captain COLLINS:—I am glad you are so punctual, Mr. Duane.

Mr. DUANE:—I generally am, Sir. I hope the Governor-General is well.

Captain COLLINS:—He is not to be seen and——,

Mr. DUANE:—I understood I was invited by him.

Captain COLLINS:—Yes, Sir, but I am directed by the Governor-General to inform you, that you are to consider yourself a State prisoner.

A number of soldiers, at a given signal, burst upon the scene and with drawn bayonets surrounded Mr. Duane, who saw through an open door the Governor-General and two members of the Supreme Council sitting on a sofa.

Mr. DUANE:—I did not think, Sir John Shore, or you, Sir (turning to Captain Collins) could be so base and treacherous as to proceed, or even to think, as you do.

Captain COLLINS:—Silence, Sir. (To the soldiers): Drag him along.

Mr. DUANE (to the soldiers):—Softly, my friends, I shall go along with you. (To Collins): What is to follow next, Collins, the bowstring or the scimitar?

Captain COLLINS:—You are insolent, Sir. (To the soldiers) Drag him along, you pig-eating scoundrels.

Mr. DUANE:—You are performing the part of Grand Vizier now, my little gentleman, and these are your mutes. Calcutta is become Constantinople, and the Governor-General the Grand Turk.

Under strict guard, strongly armed, Duane was kept in Fort William for three days, and then taken on board an armed Indian man and conveyed to England, where he was set free without a single word of information and explanation. His property in India, of which he never received a pice, was worth about fifty



thousand dollars. He afterwards went to Philadelphia, became Editor of the *Aurora*, and made that paper intensely anti-British.

The British Empire was at stake when Lord Wellesley landed at Calcutta in 1798. It was a question whether the French or the British should have domination over the land. Considering the efforts that were necessary to make the British position sure, one is tempted to condone almost anything that those in authority felt constrained to do. Consequently, when the Marquis of Wellesley thought that the supreme interest of the country he was sent to govern, demanded that he should let no intelligence be published which would be likely to yield advantage to the enemy, surprise cannot be very great that a censorship of the Press should have been created. At all risks the enemy must be beaten and the Empire saved. The Press was thought to be a great danger, if unfettered, and it was put in leading strings. New duties were imposed upon an old office, and a Secretary of Government had to perform, in addition to other duties, those of a Censor of Newspapers. The mistake was not so much, considering the times, in a censorship being established for a certain occasion, but that a measure, adopted for a particular set of circumstances, should have been kept in force when those circumstances were changed and the necessity no longer existed. When warfare with the French was being carried on, undoubtedly the greatest caution was necessary in the publication of facts liable to be turned to account by the foe. It was far otherwise in regard to conflicts with purely Asiatic States, in fighting with Burmah and in expeditions into Afghanistan. But the bureaucracy, which sat as a night-mare on the diffusion of knowledge and the spread of liberal thought in India, had too inflated a sense of its own importance and too feeble a grasp of the right use of power to allow so potent an instrument of torture as the censorship of the Press to pass from their hands willingly. It was not, however, that a censorship only was established to keep journalists in awe. To support it, and to enforce obedience to the excisions made by the pen of the censor in the printed "proofs" submitted to him, penal laws of great stringency were enacted. Amongst other things, leaving out of consideration the Judges of the Supreme Court, the sole medium for carrying out the law in a properly-constituted country, the Governor-General was vested "with the power of transmitting to England, in the most summary manner, any European subject of Britain whose conduct may be deemed in any way hostile to Government, the Governor-General so acting, however, being on his return to England, liable to an action at the instance of the individual, should he have been aggrieved." At this time the great India Bill—which was surely preceded by the greatest amount of

enquiry ever known, for the author of "Our Indian Empire" says that 15,000 printed pages of folio foolscap were presented to the Houses of Parliament by the various Commissions appointed—had not been passed; and non-officials were permitted to settle in British India only on license. A license was also necessary before a newspaper could be started, and this the applying editor or publisher was told was liable to withdrawal, whilst the person responsible would be deported if any of the Press regulations were broken.

The successors, for many years, of the Marquis of Wellesley had, all of them, a poor opinion of the Press, which was kept shackled with the greatest severity. They had not the excuse of the great Marquis who, having established the Censorship because he was at war, made the conflict yield success; while otherwise, he endeavoured to do much for literature and learning. He founded Fort William College, only, however, to find the Court of Directors emasculate the project as soon as it was laid before them. He also made the proceedings of the Supreme Court public. There were not, at this period, many journals to keep in order,—three or four in Calcutta, two in Bombay, and, probably, one or two in Madras. In 1792 Hugh Boyd, one of those reputed to have written the Letters of Junius, a reputation which he ever strove to maintain without actually avowing the authorship, had started the *Madras Courier*. The old Indians, hating the "interlopers" who criticized their public acts and rendered getting wealthy by means not always honourable somewhat more difficult, were consistent throughout. They did not merely object to English newspapers, but also to any enlightenment whatever. An historian, already alluded to, says:—"It was our policy in those days to keep the natives of India in the profoundest possible state of barbarism and darkness, and every attempt to diffuse the light of knowledge among the people, either of our own or the Independent States, was vehemently opposed and resented." An illustration of this is gathered from the records of the Hyderabad Residency, and is told by Sir J. W. Kaye ("Life of Lord Metcalfe," vol. II., pp. 136, 137) as follows:—

Captain Sydenham, who then represented our interests at the Hyderabad Court, wishing to gratify a desire expressed by the Nizam to see some of the appliances of European science, procured for him three specimens in the shape of an air-pump, a printing press, and the model of a man-of-war. Having mentioned this in his demi-official correspondence with the Chief Secretary, he was censured for having placed in the hands of a native prince so dangerous an instrument as the printing press. Upon this the President wrote back that the Government need be under no apprehensions, for that the Nizam had taken so little interest in the press, that he had not even made a present to the compositors who had come round from Madras to exhibit the application to practical purposes of the implements of their craft.



But he added, that if the Government still felt any uneasiness about the presence of this dangerous instrument of civilization at the Court of the Nizam, he could easily obtain admission to the Toshakhana (Treasure House) and there so cripple the press as to ensure its never being in a fit state to do duty again!

This feeling, which specially characterised Lord Minto's Government, and for fifteen years after was the ruling idea of the permanent officials, John Adam giving expression to it by the severe measures he subsequently carried out, has been well characterised as a "chronic disease" and "hypocondriacal day-fears and night-mares."

With the advent of Lord Hastings a more favourable turn was given to the free expression of thought, and Anglo-Indian journalism showed itself capable of better things than had hitherto marked its career. Things too high for the scandal-monger, too great to be grasped by his understanding, became the subject of editorial comment; while officers who had grievances to ventilate and civilians (especially the "interlopers") who had theories to air or malpractices to expose, found the columns of journals read by the Governor-General, who avowedly looked to them for somewhat of guidance, a good medium, which they did not fail to largely avail themselves of. So heartily did the Marquis of Hastings display the liberality of opinion which he possessed, that he hailed the appearance of a vernacular newspaper, started by the Rev. Dr. Marshman, with the greatest pleasure. He personally thanked the Serampore Missionary for its publication, wrote also an official letter of thanks, and ordered a large number of copies to be sent to the Native Courts. A considerable change this from the fear which Lord Minto and his Council felt and expressed with regard to the printing press at Hyderabad! It must have been very galling to that good man but narrow-minded official, John Adam, who was then in Calcutta.

Into this liberal atmosphere came an adventurous—in many respects a typical—Englishman, James Silk Buckingham, born at Flushing, Cornwall, in 1784. He executed important commissions for the Pasha of Egypt in 1813, and afterwards made several abortive attempts to trade with India, not possessing a license from the East India Company. Pleasing the Pasha of Egypt was easier work than fighting the covenanted servants of "Jan Kumpani Bahadur," and consequently Mr. Buckingham proceeded again to Egypt; having received a firman from the Pasha he returned to India overland through Syria, Mesopotamia and Persia, dressed in Turkish costume and speaking the Arabic language. He seems to have reached Calcutta safely, but lived in obscurity for a time; at least nothing more is heard of him until 1818, when he established the *Calcutta Journal*. An ardent Radical, Mr. Buckingham soon startled the propriety of the officials, who were greatly

incensed at his boldness and effrontery. The Rev. Dr. Marshman thus writes of the *Journal* :—" It was the ablest newspaper which had ever appeared in India, and gave a higher tone and a deeper interest to journalism. A knot of young men in the public service, of brilliant talents, headed by Mr. Henry Meredith Parker, ranged themselves round the paper, and contributed by their poignant articles to its extraordinary success and popularity. The editor, availing himself of the liberty granted to the press by Lord Hastings, commented on public measures with great boldness ; and sometimes with a degree of severity which was considered dangerous. But the great offence of the *Journal* consisted in the freedom of its remarks on some of the leading members of Government. They had been nursed in the lap of despotism, and their feelings of official complacency were rudely disturbed by the sarcasms inflicted upon them. Madras, as a rule, had been unfortunate in its Governors ; no fewer than six of them had been recalled—one of them unjustly—and, with the exception of three or four, the rest had been very second-rate men. One of these, Mr. Hugh Elliot, then filled the chair, to the regret of the public ; and the *Journal* affirmed that he had obtained an extension of his term of office, which was announced to the community in a circular with a black border. This innocent pleasantry was registered among the offences of the paper." On the other hand, the anonymous author of "*The Law and Constitution of India*" (published recently) gives the following version of the career of the *Calcutta Journal* under Mr. Buckingham's editorial control :—

Through the kind offices of a few friends Mr. Buckingham started the *Calcutta Journal* with the ostensible object of making it a 'Journal of Science and Literature' interspersed with the news of the day ; but, in fact, to indulge his spleen against anybody and everybody to whom he imagined he owed a grudge. As the current topics of the day were neither interesting nor important enough to engross his entire attention, he had the effrontery to advertise openly, that with a view to offering a 'piquant' fare for the edification of his readers, he would 'pepper and salt' his paper so as to suit their tastes and render it more palatable. The extraordinary way in which he went to work to make his bill more attractive was noticed at once. He began by printing the grossest libels, not only against public bodies, but also against honest citizens, and he even dragged the names of their families into print for the gratification of his evil propensities, till the evil culminated in his bold attacks upon the Government of India itself. He combined in his person the censor of public morals and the 'controller of Government.' The latter epithet he assumed through a misconstrued expression of the Marquis of Hastings. His Lordship had, a short while before, told the people of Madras, in his reply to their address, 'that it was salutary for supreme authority to look to the control of public scrutiny.' A better handle for Buckingham's purpose could scarcely have been offered. He declared that these words 'deserved to be written in letters of gold,' and he was not slow in taking advantage of this opportunity. His audacity led him to commit himself beyond the bounds of ordinary prudence, and he was at last



threatened by Government ; but he always avoided its vengeance by having recourse to abject apologies, only to repeat the offence on a future day and submit himself to fresh indignities. The example thus set by an Englishman was not lost upon the native community, who started several newspapers in unison with the *Calcutta Journal*, and by the time the Marquis of Hastings left the country in 1823, these 'controllers of Government' had brought affairs to a pretty uncomfortable pass by disseminating feelings of disloyalty throughout the length and breadth of the land."\*

The writer of the foregoing may have been, perhaps was, one of those "old Indians" who hated the Press with a great hatred. Certainly Sir J. W. Kaye does not agree with the last quoted authority, but rather bears out what Dr. Marshman had written. On page 137 of vol. ii. of "*The Life of Lord Metcalfe*," the biographer (referring mainly to the *Calcutta Journal*), says :— "The acts of Government were now for the first time canvassed with equal boldness and talent, and its officers censured or ridiculed in the columns either of bitter editors or still more bitter correspondents. Now it was that the vehemence of 'Brutus' and the virulence of 'Cleophas' made many a galled jade wince in the high places about Chowringhee. Perhaps the assailant and the assailed sat side by side at the breakfast table on which the uncut sheets were lying ; for 'Brutus' was not improbably a rising member of the Civil Service, and 'Cleophas' a liberal-minded Major on the general staff. Lord Hastings watched the progress of the freedom of expression ; perhaps learned some useful lessons from it ; and contented himself with quietly exhorting an editor to restrain his intemperance and to keep himself within convenient bounds." All this while the Censorship Act remained unrepealed, and the penal clause of the measure which provided for deportation lay ready to use ; but the Marquis of Hastings was too wise a man to avail himself of any of these things.

Early in 1823, Lord Hastings left Calcutta for England ; and John Adam, Senior Member of Council, became acting Governor-General. Judged by his acts Mr. Adam's reputation does not stand high, especially with Anglo-Indian journalists. It is more than probable that he was greatly dissatisfied with the manner in which the Marquis of Hastings had acted towards the Press. Thoroughly penetrated with the idea that the continuous domination of the British in India depended upon the natives being kept in a state of ignorance, and officials dowered with despotism, responsible only to the Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street, he mourned over the licentiousness of the public journals. Consequently, no sooner had he acquired supreme power than he put in force the long-suspended regulations against the Press ; indeed, further

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\* *Statesman*, Calcutta, 1875.

orders were promulgated. Dr. Marshman describes them as "completely extinguishing the 'freedom of unlicensed printing.'" Mr. Buckingham's corps of writers, however, changed not their tone nor moderated their censures; neither did the Editor think the remarks were too forcibly expressed for a professedly liberal journal. The same outspokenness, therefore, continued to characterise the *Calcutta Journal* as prior to the departure of Lord Hastings; until at length John Adam would stand it no longer, but stretched forth his hand, and Mr. Buckingham was forcibly expelled from the country.

The circumstances which led to the expulsion of the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal* were disgraceful to the acting Governor-General. Dr. Marshman, a witness of what happened, says that the senior Presbyterian Minister in Calcutta, "who was a zealous partisan of Government, had set up a rival Tory paper, and indulged in invectives against Mr. Buckingham which, when indicted in the Supreme Court, were pronounced to be libellous. Not only was no check placed upon him by the Government, but he was nominated to the well-paid office of Clerk to the Stationery Department." The *Calcutta Journal* ridiculed the incongruity of a union of offices, which obliged the reverend gentleman to employ himself in counting bundles of tape and sticks of sealing-wax when he ought to have been composing his sermons or visiting the members of his congregation. In fact, Mr. Buckingham published the following article:—

During the evening of Thursday, about the period at which the inhabitants of this good City of Palaces are accustomed to sit down to dinner, an appendix to the Government *Gazette* of the morning was issued in a separate form, and coming in the shape of a *Gazette Extraordinary*, was eagerly seized, even at that inconvenient hour in the hope of its containing intelligence of great public importance. Some in whose bosoms this hope had been most strongly excited may perhaps have felt disappointed; others, we know, drew from it a fund of amusement which lasted them during the remainder of the evening.

The Rev. Gentleman, named below, who we perceive by the index of that useful publication, the Annual Directory, is a Doctor of Divinity, and Moderator of the Kirk Session, and who, by the favour of higher powers, now combines the office of parson and clerk in the same person, has, no doubt, been selected for the arduous duties of his new place from the purest motives, and the strictest possible attention to the public interest. Such a clerk, as is here required, to inspect and reject whatever articles may appear objectionable to him, should be a competent judge of the several sorts of paste-board, sealing-wax, inkstands, sand, lead, gum, pounce, tape and leather; and one would imagine that nothing short of a regular apprenticeship at Stationer's Hall would qualify a candidate for such a situation. All this information, however, the Rev. Gentleman, no doubt possesses, in a more eminent degree than any other person who could be found to do the duties of such an office; and though at first sight, such information may seem incompatible with a theological education, yet we know that the country abounds with surprising instances of that kind of genius which fits a man in a moment for any post to which he may be appointed.



In Scotland, we believe, the duties of a Presbyterian minister are divided between preaching on the Sabbath, and on the other days of the week visiting the sick, comforting the weak-hearted, conferring with the bold, and encouraging the timid in the several duties of their religion. Some shallow persons might conceive that if a Presbyterian clergyman were to do his duty in India, he might also find abundant occupation throughout the year in the zealous and faithful discharge of more pious duties, which ought more especially to engage his devout attention. But they must be persons of very little reflection indeed, who entertain such an idea. We have seen the Presbyterian flock of Calcutta take very good care of themselves for many months without a pastor at all; and even when the shepherd was among them, he had abundant time to edit a controversial paper (long since defunct) and to take a part in all the meetings, festivities, addresses, and flatteries, that were current at that time! He has continued to display this eminently active, if not holy, disposition up to the present period, and, according to the maxim, "to him that hath much (to do) still more shall be given, and from him that hath nothing, even the little that he hath shall be taken away," this Rev. Doctor, who has so often evinced the universality of his genius and talents, whether within the pale of divinity, or without it, is perhaps the very best person that could be selected, all things considered, to take care of the foolscap, paste-board, wax, sand, gum, lead, leather, and tape of the Hon'ble E. I. Company of Merchants, and to examine and pronounce on the quality of each, so as to see that no drafts are given on their treasury for gum that will not stick, tape short of measure, or inkstands of base metal.

Whether the late discussions that have agitated both the wise and the foolish of this happy country from the Burrumpooter to the Indus, and from Cape Comorin to the confines of Tartary, have had any influence in hastening the consummation so devoutly wished, we cannot presume to determine. We do not profess to know anything of the occult sciences, and being equally ignorant of all *secret* influences, whether of the planets of heaven or the satellites of earth, we must content ourselves, as faithful chroniclers of the age, with including in our records the important document issued under the circumstances we have described.\*

It can scarcely be conceived that for so mildly satirical an article as the foregoing, the extreme penalties of unjust laws would be carried out; yet within two months of the date of publication of the satire, Mr. Buckingham's license had been withdrawn, he was forcibly placed on board an East Indiaman bound for China and England, and banished the country. The ostensible cause of the deportation was puerile and unworthy of the attention of a high official, or indeed, for the matter of that, any official whatever. The action taken betrays a littleness of mind and a meanness of spirit on the part of Mr. Adam which are hard to reconcile with a glowing tribute to his character penned by Sir Charles Metcalfe a few years subsequently, when he, himself, had done an act with regard to the Press which differed as much from John Adam's procedure as light differs from darkness. Sir Charles Metcalfe thinks that, in 1835, Mr. Adam would have seen "eye to eye" with himself in the matter of the liberation of news-

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\* *Statesman*, Calcutta, 1875.

papers from State control ; but he gives no reason for an opinion, the expression of which most men will ascribe to high-souled generosity rather than to strict justice.

Mr. Stocqueler's description of the offence which led to Mr. Buckingham's deportation differs in some respects from those already alluded to. Writing in 1870, Mr. Stocqueler was evidently drawing upon his memory for facts, so that for precise details his narration is not so valuable as Dr. Marshman's account, which was written at (or soon after) the deed was consummated. Mr. Stocqueler says :—

"Buckingham was the bold dragoon who leaped over the bayonets of the infantry square of ancient prejudice, sacrificing himself to the public interests in his rare moral hardihood. The absurd press regulations, which prohibited reflections on any of the acts of Governors, Military Commanders, Judges, Bishops,—or, in fact, any one in office—lest they should disturb the harmony of society, he derided and defied; and when it was announced that a tyrannical Madras Governor was to hold office for a further term of one year, he published his paper with a mourning border. This was a crime of the deepest dye committed during the interregnum following upon the rule of Lord Amherst [*sic.*, Lord Hastings] and preceding that of Lord William Bentinck, it gave Mr. John Adam, the *locum tenens* of the Governor-Generalship of India, an opportunity of venting the spite of the old Qui Hye civilians. He ordered Buckingham's presses to be seized, and his person arrested and sent on board a ship bound for China, and thence to England. Buckingham's daring, therefore, cost him his property and liberty, but it cleared the path for his successors, for such an atrocious piece of tyranny would not bear repetition."

Further, to show the spirit of fear engendered by this state of things, an incident mentioned by Mr. Buckingham in the House of Lords on August 28th, 1835, will bear quotation. Commenting upon the state of affairs in India, as regarded the liberty of the press, Mr. Buckingham said :—"When some numbers of the *Quarterly Review* reached India, containing amongst its announcements, stitched in at the end, the prospectus of a new work on India, entitled the *Oriental Herald*, the bookseller to whom they had arrived was so terrified lest this prospectus of a publication from England, about to call in question the measures of the Indian Government, should subject him to the penalties of Mr. Sergeant Spankie's Act, that every one of the forbidden sheets was torn out, before the *Quarterly Review* itself could be exposed for sale."\*

While the supreme authorities at Calcutta were striving to gag the press by measures of brutal severity, the Bombay Government were acting similarly towards the Editor of the *Bombay Gazette* ; in his case the license for the paper was not withdrawn.†

\* *Calcutta Review*, June 1864, p 170.

† The license for the *Calcutta Journal*, judging by the subsequent

appearance of the paper, if withdrawn at all, could only have been temporarily.



Mr. Farr, the Editor, was deported and the authorities were appeased. Mr. Stocqueler, who was in Bombay at the time, and who says that the two journals then existing in the city, were "composed almost entirely of selections from the English papers," remarks that the article which led to the deportation of Mr. Farr was one personally offensive to Sir Edward West, the Recorder, and was written to please "a clique of discontented barristers." The Recorder invoked the protection of the Government, and the banishment of the responsible party followed. Mr. Stocqueler says (page 49 of his Memoirs):—"If the Editor had acted from a sense of public duty I do not believe Sir Edward would have troubled himself about the matter, for he was a warm advocate of the freedom of the press, and at a somewhat later period refused to register a law controlling the press, which had been concocted at Calcutta and sent round by the Governor-General."

To return, however, to the crusade of Mr. Adam against the Editor of the *Calcutta Journal*. Though under sentence of deportation, Mr. Buckingham would not be silenced during the days that yet remained to him in India; he wrote an exceedingly powerful article entitled "Transportation without Trial," in which the acting head of the Government was, most deservedly, severely handled. He also took the opportunity of pointing out that though he was to be silenced, the tympan of his old Caxton press was not to remain quiescent, but that he would be succeeded by a gentleman equally zealous with himself in endeavouring to obtain the liberty of the press. Furthermore, his successor could not be so summarily disposed of as he was. The gentleman thus referred to was an East Indian (Mr. Sandys) and instead of being liable to deportation at the will of the Governor-General was only amenable to the judges of the Supreme Court and a Jury. The *Journal*, under Mr. Sandys' management, became more abusive of Government than it had ever been before, until Mr. Adam was again incensed, and a measure was passed through Council rendering it compulsory on journalists and proprietors of newspapers to take out fresh licenses; these licenses were liable to be revoked, without warning, if those in charge of the journals committed a breach of any of the rules framed for regulating the Press. This induced caution, and John Adam gave place to Lord Amherst without any further serious conflict with the papers. Lord Amherst, unthinkingly or otherwise, for a time allowed things to take their own course, without any "jockeying" on his part. This was, as has been urged, probably not a little due to the fact that most of the "principal ministerial functionaries in the Presidency had naturally fallen into the ways of John Adam;" which is a correct surmise no doubt, as it is more than probable that the inclination of the Indian official of 1820, and a few years subsequently, was

such as to predispose him to the course of things which Lord Amherst permitted to drift on.

Of Mr. Buckingham more need not be said here, save that on his arrival in London a liberal subscription was raised for him, that he there established the *Oriental Herald*, was M. P. for Nottingham for five years, and that towards the end of his life the East India Company granted him a pension as amends for the injury done by the deportation in 1823. Before that was done he had been (says Sir John Kaye) "a continual running sore in the flesh of the East India Company and the British Parliament."

It is gratifying to know that the Rev. Mr. Bryce's appointment as custodian of red tape and sealing-wax, when made known at home, was condemned by his own Church, and revoked by the directors of the Honorable East India Company.

Two different stories are told of the peace and quietness, the virtual freedom, which the Press of Calcutta, and with it that of the other presidency towns, enjoyed during the latter part of Lord Amherst's tenure of office. On the one hand it is urged by the biographer of Sir Charles Metcalfe, that when "Lord Amherst began to think more for himself, the natural mildness of his disposition revolted against the oppressiveness of the old Toryism of Calcutta, and the restrictions which had been imposed upon the free utterance of opinion were gradually relaxed." The anonymous author of "*The Law and Constitution of India*," however, gives the matter a much more melodramatic *denouement*. As paraphrased in the *Statesman* (Calcutta) he says:—

"There was an appearance of amicable reconciliation being effected between the ruler and the journalist, but such hopes proved delusive, for Mr. Sandys associated himself with one Mr. Arnott, who was even more notorious than either Buckingham or his successor. A paragraph reflecting strongly on Lord Amherst's administration was the last straw that broke the camel's back. The Government being swayed by an honourable consideration for the rights of the proprietors, did not withdraw the license which would have acted prejudicially on their interests, but instead, ordered Mr. Arnott out of the country. As an East Indiaman was not immediately available he was directed to find security for quitting the country by a certain day. On declining to comply with this requisition he was arrested by the orders of the Governor-General, and made over to the tender mercies of the Town Major for detention in Fort William till a vessel was ready to start. Arnott, who was wise in his own generation, relied on the animosity which existed between the judges of the Supreme Court and the highest authority in the land to effect his release, which he succeeded in accomplishing to his own satisfaction. He applied for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which was immediately granted. On being brought before this tribunal, he was heard by his counsel and, in defiance of Government, was discharged from custody. The Chief Justice in a lengthy judgment declared that his Court was supreme in every sense of the word, and that the Governor-General, though he was permitted by an Act of Parliament to send away some individuals, and to arrest them for that purpose, had no power to imprison them; for, that the words of the Act



were "to arrest" and not "to imprison"; that to imprison and to arrest were not the same thing, and that the statute being penal must be strictly interpreted."

Though the sword of Damocles, in the shape of the unrepealed restrictions on the Press (they were only "relaxed" by Lord Amherst) yet hung over Indian newspapers, they now (1828) entered upon a course of the greatest freedom, with such generally good results that Lord William Bentinck is reported to have subsequently said, after he had been a few years in India, that he had learned more from the newspapers than from all the other sources of information open to him. When it is borne in mind how many avenues for obtaining knowledge are open to an Indian official,—whether as Governor of a Presidency, or as supreme ruler, the admission is one of the most flattering testimonies to the Press that could possibly be made. But it is very probable that Lord William Bentinck referred more to the side-lights thrown upon the acts of officials, and similar details, than to precise and original information of the country and of the people. Still he might mean both, for while the Indian newspapers of that period were all ablaze with letters of remonstrance on "burning questions," the amount of actual information contained in them was also very great. As a liberal politician Lord William Bentinck strongly desired to carry such measures as were in accordance with the wish of the people, and went so far as to encourage by advertisement, merchants, indigo and sugar planters, and some of the superior tradesmen of Calcutta to communicate with him on matters financial, fiscal, and commercial.\*

The Court of Directors of the old Company not infrequently did stupid things, but they certainly deserve credit for the far-sightedness which led them to send to India an enlightened statesman like Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General when so unpopular a measure as "half-batta" was to be introduced. If, in addition to the carrying out of this change, the Press had been held tight and gagged with the regulations then existing, a revolution would possibly have occurred amongst the Company's own military servants. Not long before this period Lord Byron had written—

"Kill a man's family and he will brook it,  
But keep your hands from his breeches pocket."

Of course, it is not easy to estimate how much the military officers of the Company would have borne before they became disloyal, but certainly the abolition of "full-batta" and the substitution of "half-batta,"—the contention being that "full-batta" was intended for a time of war and not of peace,—"stirred up a

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\* "Stocqueler's Memoirs," p. 71.

sudden flow of mutiny." At that time the majority of subscribers to Indian papers were military men, and the conductors of the journals were nothing loth to take up the view of the question which was adopted by the majority of their constituents. Lord William Bentinck was merely the instrument by which this obnoxious measure was to be carried out; yet, in the columns of the newspapers he was attacked with great fury, and could not have been more soundly rated if he had been the author of the reduction. Wise man as he was he little heeded the hard words, but allowed the excited feelings of those whose batta was to be reduced to find relief in the expression of their indignation, contempt and scorn. The biographer of Lord Metcalfe, who has done full justice to the noble conduct of Lord William Bentinck, shows, however, how even that Governor-General's confidence forsook him; and when, in 1830, the final order of the Directors, to carry out the obnoxious measure was received, he considered whether he should, or should not, put a ban upon discussion. He decided that circumstances would justify his doing so. But, be it borne in mind, this decision was come to, not from any fear of the remarks which might be made of himself, personally. As a friendly reviewer says, "Principle was principle with him, whether it hurt him or not." His object in seeking to check discussion was to shield the Court of Directors from the invectives which he knew would be poured forth.\*

This proposed action of Lord William Bentinck brought forth a remonstrance from a Member of the Governor-General's Council, Sir C. T. Metcalfe, a civilian of thirty-five years' experience, and yet, marvellous to relate, a man of broad thought and freedom of opinion. He had all along been opposed to the manacling of the Press. Writing from Camp Bhowngeer in March 1825, he had said:—"The real dangers of a free Press in India are, I think, in its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke. The petty annoyances which our Governments would suffer I call rather inconveniences. The advantages are in the spread of knowledge, which it seems wrong to obstruct for any temporary or selfish purpose. I am inclined to think I would let it have its swing if I were sovereign-lord and master. He regretted the Governor-General's contemplated action in checking free and full discussion, and drew up a Minute on the subject, which, from its wise arguments and cogent reasoning, must have had some effect upon the mind of Lord William Bentinck.

As Vice-President of the Council, Sir Charles Metcalfe continued to maintain the opinions he had so unflinchingly avowed; and two years after reiterated them with point and effect, in declining to prosecute an editor in Calcutta, who had inserted

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\* *Calcutta Review*, June, 1864.



a letter in his paper, charging the then Governor of Bombay with nepotism and kindred sins. Lord Clare (the Governor) had written personally to Lord William Bentinck, asking him to withdraw the license of the peccant journalist, and to undertake a prosecution, if a most ample apology was not tendered. The Vice-President of Council, upon whom the onus of carrying out the task would have devolved, remained inexorable.

Meanwhile the English-speaking public of India were taking great interest in the subject of Press emancipation; notably were the residents in Calcutta much exercised in mind about it, for by the journals of that city the penalty of infraction of the law had been most severely felt. The sneer, even now-a-days, is not infrequently indulged in, that there is no public opinion in India. But the people of Calcutta, nearly fifty years ago, showed that as regarded the freedom of the Press, there was, indubitably, a strong body of opinion. It is even urged that the community of 1830-35 were "impatient" for a satisfactory solution of the subject,—the Reform agitation in England sending a ripple of its wave to the distant Eastern shores of Hindustan, an indication of the far-reaching effects of moral and political movements. A petition was presented to the Governor-General in January 1835, asking that the Press Regulations formulated and "worked" by John Adam (who had, prior to this, been buried at sea off Madagascar, on his way home while suffering from an attack of dysentery) might be repealed, and newspapers not continue liable to be treated with great severity at the caprice of an official who, from private motives perhaps, might wish to put the law into practice. A satisfactory answer was given, it being stated that the matter would soon receive attention. But before action could be taken, Lord William Bentinck had left India, a country he had ruled wisely and well, to encounter calumny from masters who ought to have treated him better than they did, instead of leaving him to die of a broken heart at Malta, and only have his character completely cleared from suspicion after his death. Certainly, journalists in India have great reason to hold his memory in affectionate regard, and to place it next to that of Metcalfe, who actually did "the deed of good."

The successor to Lord William Bentinck as Governor-General was not ready at once to take up office, and Sir Charles Metcalfe stepped from the Vice-President's seat at the Council Board to the central chair. He determined that his long cherished opinions regarding the Press should now find full fruition. Looking round the Board he would find one sturdy henchman at least, in Thomas Babington Macaulay, whose ardent Liberalism, and whose almost deification of Milton, the eloquent advocate of free and unlicensed printing, made it certain that he would help to strike off the

shackles which bound the expression of opinion in India as though it were an evil thing. Lord (then Mr.) Macaulay spent five years in India, ostensibly to codify the laws, which he scarcely attempted, not altogether, however, from fault of his own. During his quinquennial period, he drew the munificent sum of £75,000. The author of "Our Indian Empire" asks what the great Whig historian did for his pay. He had a hand in conferring freedom on the Press, which should count for a great deal, although it is stated that the Council generally "was ripe for immediate legislation."

The work was at once done. Sir J. W. Kaye gives a succinct summary of the legislation as follows:—"In April, the draft Act for the future regulation of the Press was drawn up and duly published. It declared the repeal of the Press Regulations of 1823 in the Bengal Presidency, and those of 1825 and 1827 in Bombay. It enacted that the printer and publisher of all periodical works within the Company's territories, containing public news, or comments on public news, should appear before the magistrates of the jurisdiction in which it should be published, and declare where it was to be printed and published. Every book and paper was thenceforth to bear the name of the printer and publisher. Every person having a printing press on his premises was to make declaration thereof, and for all violations of the provisions of the Act, penalties of fine and imprisonment were decreed. But, beyond the necessity of making these declarations, there was no other restriction upon the liberty of the Press." Calcutta was greatly delighted at what had been done, and a public meeting, in which to express the gratification that was felt, was held; at this meeting all classes of the community were represented. An address to the "liberator of the Indian Press" was adopted, in which it was particularly pointed out that the result was the more to be valued seeing that the freedom conferred was the gift of Sir Charles Metcalfe, rather than of any one else. "For," said they who prepared the address, "Your experience is that of a whole life passed among the people of India, in its most remote and warlike provinces, and its most turbulent times. This renders your testimony most valuable of all." A man of generous sympathies, Sir Charles Metcalfe's heart beat warmly in response to this tribute of popular gratitude, and he wrote a very long and able reply. It would repay attentive perusal by those Anglo-Indian journalists of the present time, who crying loudly for a Government censor to exercise authority over, and to make excisions in the articles for, the Native Press, which would be as galling and as inefficient as was the similar censorship over the English Press in times gone by. The geniality of the tone, as well as the sterling merit of the contents of this letter, quite captivated the hitherto officially-contemned and scorned inhabitants of



Calcutta, and never was ruler in the Eastern dominions of Great Britain so loved and honoured by the people he ruled as was Sir Charles Metcalfe at this time, and deservedly so. Daniel Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta, specially wrote to the acting Governor-General to express his admiration at the whole transaction, but particularly to tell of the pleasure he had felt in reading Sir Charles Metcalfe's letter in reply to the address. This was no mean compliment when all the proclivities of Bishop Wilson are taken into account. But, of course, there was some shading to a picture which seems, so far, to be composed of pleasing tints alone. The Directors in Leadenhall Street did not approve the policy of freedom, but they did not dare to command that backward steps should be taken; they preferred the less manly course of showing their displeasure by subsequent harsh treatment of Sir Charles. Nearer the scene of action, too, there were not wanting detractors who insinuated that the object of Sir Charles Metcalfe was merely a bid for popularity, and that, in times past, he had agreed with, even if he had not justified, some of the arbitrary measures which had been carried out against journals and journalists. Dr. Marshman, in the *Asiatic Journal*, wrote in defence of "the liberator," but admitted that Sir Charles might have approved the deportation of Mr. Buckingham, as some writers to the papers had said that he did. This drew a letter from the Governor-General to the Missionary, a pleasing epistle, in which he denies the charge, and playfully twits his champion for admitting it. He allows that he admired the bravery of John Adam in doing an unpopular thing unflinchingly, but he certainly thought the action ill-judged. The Act was passed in April, May, of 1835; on the 15th of September, in the same year, it came into operation. The people of Calcutta worthily recognised the greatness of the deed, and in honour of one good action did another, by building the public Library called the "Metcalfe Hall," and placing in it a bust of the man who made the expression of opinion in India quite free.

It was not alone in Calcutta that delight was manifested the freedom which had been given, but all over, India meetings were held, addresses were adopted, and congratulations poured in upon the acting Governor-General. It is worthy of remark that this great reform was won for India by Anglo-Indians, that it was not the result of agitation in England, but the out-come of stern, unflinching determination to express opinion by a few, and the enlightened views held by one whose life was spent in India. It was well that the various communities of the land hastened to express their gratitude for what had been done; for, as has been already remarked, against Sir Charles Metcalfe the anger of the Court of Directors was aroused. They

chose to ignore the splendid services which he had rendered them, conveniently forgot that they had recommended him to the Imperial authorities for the Governor-Generalship, so that when the Governorship of Madras became vacant, and they themselves could have crowned the more than a generation of good and zealous toil by giving him the post, they passed him by. More than that: they brought great pressure to bear upon Lord Auckland, who took office as Governor-General, and ended the interregnum, to induce him to revoke the edict of Metcalfe, and again render the Press subject to a Censorship and to the other penalties which the ingenuity or malignity of bureaucracy had devised. But it was of no avail: the hand of the dial had been put on and there was no turning it back. The sequel has altogether justified the prescience of the great man who spoke, and the Indian Press was free. A great deal has been said by the defenders of the Court of Directors, notably by Mr. Thornton in his "History of the Indian Empire," about the fact that Sir Charles Metcalfe knew he was only occupying the office of Governor-General for a short period, and that, so far as was known at the time, a Tory was on his way out to take the supreme position. Consequently, so important an Act as one to sweep away the laws which Mr. Adam had used, and further, had buttressed, that they might be made stronger, ought not to have been brought forward at such a time. But, precisely the same thing occurred with regard to Mr. Adam's penal statutes, which were to be held sacred: he was acting as Governor-General when he took upon himself the extreme measure of deportation. Yet the historian who ascribes mean actions to Lord William Bentinck and interested motives to Sir Charles Metcalfe, does not blame the dragooning of the Tory official of ten or twelve years previously. The splendour of the deed that was done in 1835, however, is not dimmed by such aspersions. The annals of Indian administration contain the records of many great men; but there are few greater in all the qualities that constitute highest and noblest manhood, by combining a high ideal of statesmanship with a heroic performance of duties, than Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe.

W. DIGBY.

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### ART. III.—INDIAN NOTES.

IT has often afforded amusement to the public, and perhaps instruction, for some minds of a sombre tone to sound, from time to time, "Notes," mostly of alarm, on Indian subjects. The Note on the Political Situation in India, in Macmillan's *Magazine* for July, is one of these alarms, and it is both loud, long, and broad. "In all parts of the country," says the writer, "there is dissatisfaction, in many disaffection." Those dissatisfied are all grades of Government servants, European and native, civilians and soldiers. Missionaries also, for a reason somewhat inconsonant with their generally accepted character, help to swell the category. Maharaja Sindia's territory absorbs the principal and most undisguised section of the disaffected. Gwalior, his chief town, is graphically described, as "an island in the midst of a turbulent Mahratta sea." Our police system is radically "unsound, our garrisons are insufficient, our houses are scattered, our public buildings are built on leasehold, our plighted word is a doubtful promissory note. In short, our internal administration is a failure, and our foreign policy hateful—

"Oh miserable change ; is this the man,  
That invincible Samson, far renowned,  
The dread of Israel's foes, who with a strength  
Equivalent to angels, walked their streets,  
None offering fight, who single combatant  
Duelled their armies ranked in proud array ?"

Of no country in the world does the political history present more markedly distinct eras than that of India. The successive waves of Aryan invasion from Central Asia drove the aboriginal tribes up to the table-lands, and settled over the richer soil of the plains. Distracted by internecine wars among its satraps, and enervated by the climate, the Aryan settlement (except in Rajputana) fell an easy prey to Afghan and Mughul, the latter to fall in turn before an obscure tribe of Western India. Both Hindu and Musalmán are striking examples of the development and decay of all such empires, formed by conquerors. First the occupation of the richer territories, followed by a gradual progress towards fixity of abode, and the construction of cities. A division into satrapies, internal commotions among provincial governors, and their contests with the reigning house, preliminary to disintegration of the empire, and its dissolution or annihilation by a foreign power ; invariably mark, to the last scene, the history of their course. The Mughul Empire was virtually at an end with the death of Aurangzeb. Already Sivaji

"the mountain rat," had extended the dominion of a tribe of shepherds in the mountains of Berar, from the western littoral of the peninsula to Orissa on the east, and from Agra in the north to the Carnatic on the south. Almost every part of Hindustan and Bengal was subsequently plundered. In 1748, the Mahrattas exacted the *chauth* from the Emperor Ahmad Shah. They had previously, in 1742, overrun Bengal with 80,000 cavalry, and carried off an immense booty. In the succeeding year the incursion was repeated. To be weakened or distracted was to be the prey of Mahratta free-booters. The Mahratta confederacy was no more than a precarious combination of plunderers, arising from the dissolution of all government, and the existence of universal anarchy. It was a military republic with a revenue drawn from the *chauth* and the *Mulk-ghiri*. A power of so sudden a growth and of such a character could not cohere; it contained no single element of permanency. It grew up almost side by side with our own, and fell assunder before our superior weight and sounder organization. The only principalities which have survived the decay of their contemporary Aryan dynasties, and the shock of Mughul and Mahratta, are those of Rajputana. This survival they owe mainly to the sterility of their soil, to the less enervating character of their climate, and to their own chivalry and independent pride. But the history of India, its powers and principalities, from 1707 to 1803, is a dull and monotonous catalogue of murder and devastation, followed by famine and disease. We inherited universal anarchy.

The above slight retrospective sketch is necessary to an appreciation of the political difficulties which have beset us, the power now dominant over Hindu and Musalmán, Mughul and Mahratta. We have tasked ourselves to re-create vigor and intelligence, out of the relics of nationalities, and the fragments of their civilization, science and literature. Our success has been small, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the first gradation has been gained. In our own territories at least, the people have increased in wealth. The jute trade of Bengal, and the cotton trade of Berar, may be cited among the many industries which have brought material prosperity to the doors of the smallest cultivator engaged therein. The known universal wealth of Central India and Madras, as yet undeveloped, must tend to enrich the country still more. It cannot be said, with reason, that the people have become poorer under our rule, and it cannot be denied that their condition, generally, has very materially improved. It seems puerile to have to point out that security of property cannot exist without stability of Government; and that thus the people have the strongest interest in the preservation of the existent. Consequent upon this increase in wealth there has been, and is, in spite of social



obstacles of great aggregate power, an increase in intelligence. Apart from the venerated sanctity of custom, one of the greatest of these obstacles is the almost utter dearth of any reciprocity of sentiment between the governors and the governed. The intellectual and moral supremacy of the former, resulting in a scientific policy, at variance, in some instances with native prejudices and lines of thought, and above the standard of the most advanced native minds, has widened the gulf. The native intellect is not yet vigorous enough to grasp, and not generous enough to appreciate, a policy at once sound, provident and liberal. This measure, it suspiciously argues, contains some deep recondite scheme, veiled under its fair professions. Can any, can the most superficial thinker, expect a race, foreign, mysterious and dominant, to be otherwise than unpopular under such conditions alone? And when to these are added religious and social customs so widely diverse, as to possess not the slightest point of approach, one cannot help suspecting that the foreigners do actually possess some great and recognised qualifications for popular rule. In fact, indeed, we are not more unpopular in India, than Britons are in Canada, among the French Canadians. In India we are disliked,—but with no active resentment; we are misunderstood, but we are respected and feared. The growth of a full mutual understanding must inevitably be slow. But in every province of the empire a silent unseen power is at work, to the resultant action of which it would be difficult to assign direction, or limit. In every province the education of the people question has of late years been earnestly and warmly taken up. The results are, on the whole, encouraging; and with this infiltration of sound intelligence through the community, there will grow up a loyal acceptance of the administrative conclusions of the Paramount Power. Meantime let us watch and work on; shutting our ears to false prophets, and not confounding inevitable dislike with blood-thirsty disloyalty.

Disaffection is often asserted to exist, in fact too often and too openly to be wise. But no real cause is cited such as would explain the widely spread existence of such an attitude; and the assertion is mostly put forward as a conclusion reached without the premises being stated; or as a conclusion formed on insufficient evidence. The writer of "Political Notes" has laid himself open to this last charge. His opinions are formed, apparently, from observations made in and about Gwalior, the chief town of Sindia's territory, peopled very sparsely by Mahrattas. The *lushkur* or camp contains, of course, the army of the Prince, Mahrattas mostly as might be expected. But the Mahratta race are not by any means numerically large in



any part of either Sindia's or Holkar's dominions north of the Narbadda. Thus the simile of "an island in the midst of a turbulent Mahratta sea" is somewhat far-fetched. The more so, as the *lushkur* is on the S. W. only, and our own contingent on the N. W. In 1800 the condition of the Mahratta States was as bad as it could be. Offices and the collection of the revenue were farmed to the highest bidder. The administration was one of rapacity, corruption and instability. In 1835 little or no improvement was apparent. The Governments were then described as grinding military despotisms, protected from external enemies by the subsidised forces. The plunder of foreign states was impossible, so the Mahratta soldiery, true to its instincts, turned its talents to the plunder of its own merchants and husbandmen. In the midst of this "turbulent sea," lived the chief, in daily dread of mutiny and assassination. By a show of force, in the guise of his army, he maintained himself, and, perhaps, retained supremacy among the many clans besetting him. Within the last forty years has no change for the better taken place, and if so, to whom is the credit thereof due? Regarding our retention of the Fortress of Gwalior it must suffice to state, that no one who has read the record of our kaleidoscopic relations with the Sindia's, from 1803 to 1844, can question the policy of our action. It is no doubt unpleasant to meet with "haughty stares, open dislike, lowering brows, and muttering lips." But surely it is hasty generalisation to conclude the existence of universal disloyalty and treachery, among the thirty six millions of people, of all races, castes and creeds, inhabiting the Feudatory States; because the early risers of a city of 50,000 persons (say Mahrattas) omit to *salaam* and appear to be insolent. Was it not possible that the scowlers saw only in the European a member of the same race as that officering the adjacent contingent, by the force of whose presence the Mahratta soldiery and others ran riot among them.

It is stated that Sir Dinkur Rao has given up speaking English, because the policy of the British Government is unjust to his "country." This drastic resolve, (by no means Nestorian) somewhat out of proportion, in this prosaic age, to its basis, sounds like a Tory village politician of fifty years ago, refusing to drink the brew of a Whig distiller. "The people would rather have legal decisions from an English Magistrate than from one of their own chiefs" is an assertion "laughed to scorn." The dogma, that natives prefer tribunals presided over by their own countrymen, has been generally received in proof that they obtain justice from their countrymen and not from us. But, identity of race apart, such is by no means the reason of their preference. A solution of the apparent enigma is contained in a conscientious answer to the question—Which courts do poor men prefer, and why? Again—



"rather have justice (*sic*) from a young Englishman fresh from college, than from chiefs like Vizianagram or Jeypore?"—sneeringly ask the people in these "Notes." But how came such a sneer? How many of the two hundred millions under our own administration ever heard of either of those chiefs? What do they know of their system of "justice," or whether they in person decide litigation, or by whom, or how? Two things are clear. There can be no appeal from an injustice done by either; and wherever, in our districts, there is one court presided over by a native and another by a European Magistrate, the man seeking justice against a real wrong betakes himself to the latter, without a sigh for the judicial systems of either Vizianagram or Jeypore. "Our police system is radically unsound." "Men not measures" is a salutary and reasonable rule of administration where the standards of education and morality are high; and when the importance of the measures sanctions the outlay. But in India the standard neither of education nor of morality is high, and therefore, it is unreasonable to expect the members of a force, drawn from the people, to develop a higher standard than their countrymen in the same condition of life. The only fair test of police work is the test of comparison. In the Lower Provinces there were, in the course of the year 1813, five hundred and five dacoities in which thirty-one persons were killed. In the year 1862 there were 71 dacoities in which 6 persons were killed. These figures carry their own moral.

Without categorically examining our position relative to the different Native States under our protection, it must suffice to say that imperial and not local interests must shape our policy. Our Feudatories should understand, and the sooner and more fully the better, that so long as their internal administration and their attitude and bearing towards ourselves are compatible with the conditions of their charters, and with good faith, they will be preserved intact. There is, perhaps, a small minority of thinkers who apprehend that a combination of our Feudatory vassals may succeed in disturbing the repose of the empire. To such I recommend the reply of a late civilian who, when asked by a native gentleman what he liked best in the country, replied, that of all things he preferred the small melon called *phoot* (disunion)!

It is unnecessary to continue. We are all agreed that the beneficent results of our rule might be more marked; that the interest on our outlay has been small. But that the country is seething with disaffection, that there is danger of murderous reprisals on our "isolated homes" in revenge of wrongs unwittingly inflicted by the State—is a picture hung in too dark a shadow, and with a deformity of outline, which thinking men will unanimously reject. We are slowly threading our way through

a dense and tangled scrub, with here and there a tree of majestic growth. If we stand still the deadly malaria will stifle us—if we go wrong we must be lost or dashed over the precipice. But with charity and truth, strength and good courage in our hearts, we hope at last to gain the fair land shining in our front. Meantime let us have no physicians who tell us that our entire organism is most dangerously affected, that they cannot detect the nature, or give the true diagnoses of our diseases, and that they are unable to prescribe any remedies for our cure.

J. E.



ART. IV.—PILGRIM MEMORIES. (*Independent Section.*)

*Pilgrim Memories.* By J. S. Stuart Glennie.

THIS is a somewhat remarkable book. The author is a Scotchman who has travelled far both physically and mentally, and who after beginning life as a Calvinist, has ended by finding even the attenuated creed of Mr. Buckle to be more than he can subscribe to.

The book is entitled *Pilgrim Memories, or Travel and Discussion in the birth-countries of Christianity with the late Henry Thomas Buckle*. The first of these titles is rather misleading, and induced an Edinburgh bookseller to think that the work was a publication of the Religious Tract Society and to recommend us to go to their office in search of a copy. There was not much of the pilgrim about Mr. Glennie or Mr. Buckle; and if we could use the word in its primitive signification, "Miscreant," that is, "Misbeliever," *Memories* would be a fitter title for the book. It contains very little description of scenery, and the incidents of travel recorded are neither numerous nor romantic. The interest of the book is of another order, and lies chiefly in the discussions which were carried on between Mr. Buckle and the author, and which were often far removed from the countries through which they were passing. The book thus recalls to mind Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, in which we have very little of descriptive and very much of Dr. Johnson's remarks. It also reminds us of the brilliant pages of *Eothen*, the plan of which was to give the subjective results of Eastern travel rather than to describe the country and its inhabitants. Here, however, the resemblance between *Pilgrim Memories* and *Eothen* terminates; and there is as little similarity between the thoughts of Mr. Kinglake and Mr. Glennie, as there is between the sparkling epigrammatic sentences of the one and the laboured and involved periods of the other. Mr. Glennie's book is, however, the abler and deeper of the two, and the one which inspires most respect for the author. *Eothen* is, if we may be allowed the anachronism, the work of a Saturday Reviewer to whom nothing is new or true, and who has no sympathy with his kind unless, perhaps, with that very small section of it which can boast of a patrician origin and an education at Eton. Almost the only enthusiastic passage which the book contains is a somewhat ludicrous endeavour to throw oneself back among the gods of Greece by conjuring up the not very sublime or elevating image of the Cyprian Aphrodité.

Mr. Glennie appears to have commenced his travels in the end of 1861, and it was on 9th January 1862 that he fell in with Mr.

Buckle at Syené on the Upper Nile. Mr. Buckle was then travelling in Egypt for the recovery of his health which had been impaired by over-work. Subsequent events showed that his nerves had been shattered by excessive literary labour almost beyond recovery, but he seems to have been ignorant of his danger and to have thought himself much better than he really was. It is melancholy to find him writing only eight months before his death, "I feel in better health and spirits than at any time during the last three years. Especially I am conscious of an immense increase of brain-power, grasping great problems with a firmness which at one time I feared had gone from me for ever. *I feel that there is yet much that I shall live to do.*" In a similar spirit he wrote in another letter, "I feel very joyous and altogether full of pugnacity, so that I wish some one would attack me, I mean speculatively. I have no desire for a practical combat." Being in such a frame of mind it is no wonder that Mr. Buckle invited Mr. Glennie to accompany him in a journey through Arabia and Syria. Nor need we be surprised that the latter gladly accepted the offer. For Mr. Glennie, too, was full of pugnacity and quite as ready to attack as Mr. Buckle was to be attacked—a fervid Scot. Mr. Glennie had, in adopting heterodox opinions, become not merely indifferent to popular religion but violently antagonistic to it. It is true that, as regards Christianity, there was not much room for dispute between the pair, but Mr. Buckle professed Deism and a belief in a future state, while Mr. Glennie seems to have doubted both of these tenets; and in addition to these points of difference there was an inexhaustible field for discussion in Mr. Buckle's denial of the efficacy of moral causes and ascription of all progress to the influence of the intellect, and in his heresies about the Scottish nation. Whether the arrangement by which the two became fellow-travellers was likely to be beneficial to one in Mr. Buckle's feeble state of health, is a question which we would rather not discuss, certainly the *prima facie* view is that it was likely to be injurious. What Mr. Buckle seems to have especially required was freedom from excitement; and we think that it must have been rather trying to his strength to have had to fight his battles o'er again, and to contest the leading positions of his book with so pertinacious an opponent as Mr. Glennie proved himself to be. On the other hand we must remember that Mr. Buckle wished for an opponent, and that if Mr. Glennie had not made his appearance, he would probably have sought out some other antagonist. There is no doubt also that Mr. Buckle would have drooped in the absence of intellectual society, and that his premature death was mainly due to over-work in England. The physical fatigue also which he had to undergo in riding across the desert, &c., was greater than he could stand;



and unhappily it is the characteristic of a disease such as his to oppose itself to curative methods. For what he mainly suffered from was over-excitement of his nervous system; but this very over-excitement prevented him from applying the proper remedy, that is, rest, and continually urged him, as Mr. Glennie has pointed out, to undertake tasks beyond his strength.\*

Leaving, however, the question of the physical results of Mr. Buckle's journey to the consideration of medical men, we proceed to our proper task of reviewing Mr. Glennie's book. Nearly all books of much value or purpose contain one or two leading ideas to which everything else is subordinated; and though there have been many works of genius which have not conformed to this principle, yet the most of such have been written in pre-scientific ages and we suspect that they have been injured by the omission. The want of a distinct moral purpose is referred to by Dr. Johnson as the great blot in Shakespeare's plays; and though it may be unfashionable to quote Dr. Johnson or to say anything in disparagement of Shakespeare, yet we humbly venture to think that the criticism is a just and valuable one.

The leading idea enforced in Mr. Glennie's work is a sufficiently remarkable one. It is that travel in Eastern countries, or as he prefers to call them, the birth-countries of Christianity, destroys a belief in the divine origin of the religion instead of giving it additional strength. In his view, then, a pilgrimage to Palestine has the same disenchanting effect on the modern Christian that a visit to Rome had on Martin Luther. There is a difference, however, in the character of the exorcisms. Luther was disenchanted by the spectacle of the moral corruption of Rome; whereas what impresses the modern traveller in the East is the evidence of the extreme naturalness of the rise and progress of Christianity, so that he is compelled to feel that there is no knot in the matter which a God need be called in to untie. The first illustration which Mr. Glennie gives us of this result is in his meeting with a Mahomedan *faqir* or religious mendicant on the banks of the Nile. He found that Sheikh Selim, as he was called, was fully believed by many persons to have the power of working miracles, and that "a whole cycle of legends had already sprung up about

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\* It is to be feared that Mr. Buckle diminished his vitality by over-smoking. On this head he tells an anecdote which he had from Mr. Buckle himself. A medical man, whom Mr. Buckle had consulted, asked him how many cigars he smoked daily. Mr. Buckle said eight, and then his doctor bluntly told him that he was driving to the devil in a carriage and eight.



him." The inference naturally drawn from this is, that "narratives of miracles are records, not of actual facts of nature, but of uncultured states of mind." And Mr. Glennie adds that "by the pressing home of such a fact as this, a mine is driven under the very foundations of the Christian faith."

The fact that Mr. Glennie found a residence in the East inimical to a belief in Christianity, is personally interesting to ourselves, for we well remember that our first year in Bengal had a similar result. It is true that we came to our conclusions, in part at least, by a different road. What primarily influenced us was the spectacle of so many millions of men living without the knowledge of Christianity and apparently not much the worse for the want of it. We had been taught that Christianity was the very bond of society, and that where it was wanting, immorality became rampant and civilization fell to pieces. It was, therefore, a great shock to us when we observed so many millions of people living in ignorance of, or even in hostility to, Christianity, and yet not wholly given over to sin, and indeed acting in many important respects exactly like Christian communities. We found them eating and drinking and yet not gluttonous or wine-bibbing, marrying and giving in marriage, rearing their children, affectionate one towards another, cultivating the soil, practising their trades, observant of the laws, charitable to the poor, &c., and yet entirely without the possession of what we had been told was the one thing needful. Naturally, we think, we came to the conclusion that Christianity was less important than we had been told it was, and that it was possible to stand up and live without it. Further experience, however, of India helped us precisely in the way which has been indicated by Mr. Glennie, by showing us how natural were many of those precepts of deism which had been ascribed to a divine origin. When, for example, we first saw the Bengali ryots threshing out their corn by the aid of bullocks, and observed that the latter were unmuzzled, the first impression was that here was a corroboration of the Pentateuch. But further reflection led to a quite opposite conclusion for, if the practice was so natural as to be in use all over India, it was clear that there was no need for a divine precept in order to introduce it among the Jews.

At page 88, Mr. Glennie writes thus of the effect of the desert journey on him, "and as we journeyed, there went before us by day the Sheikh of our Arabs to lead us the way; and by night we were given light by a pillar of fire, which had its base in our camp-fires, and its capital in the zenith-stars. Nor did it seem likely that the Israelites had other guidance by day and other illumination by night. Nay, that men—not at home and following as in a dream where everything is possible, the



forty years wanderings of the Israelites, but following through actual deserts the very track of these wanderings, as (so far at least as Sinai) we so probably do that men should in these days, and here, literally and truly believe, that the Israelites had such other day-guidance and night-illumination as is affirmed in the Book of Exodus, seemed almost incredibly marvellous; and that, not believing that the Israelites had such supernatural day-guidance and night-illumination, they should pretend to believe it, or refraining from not (?) distinctly saying that they do not believe it, should permit it to be understood that they do believe it, seemed—Oh, men otherwise truthful, manly and honourable, do permit this to be understood, and, as it should certainly seem, falsely understood; and it would appear wiser, therefore, to endeavour to explain this to oneself by the complexity of human motives and character, than to give vent to expressions, however apparently justifiable, of indignation and contempt.”

In a similar spirit he writes at page 90 “except to those utterly blinded by priestly education, or by selfish interests, few things, I believe, tend more to make such stories as those of Exodus utterly incredible than the mere natural desert-journey itself.”

The first discussion which Mr. Glennie held with Mr. Buckle was on the subject of spiritualism, and it is, with one exception, the least satisfactory in the book. Indeed, when we opened the book at this place we almost gave up in despair, so difficult was it to understand the author's meaning. But we persevered, and we would strongly advise our readers to do the same. Mr. Glennie's style is generally somewhat heavy and lumbering; though his descriptions are often graphic and his language, in one or two remarkable instances, rises into genuine eloquence. But he seems to be at his worst in this chapter on spiritualism, perhaps from the nature of the subject, and perhaps, too, because he is at the beginning of his task and has not burned out his smoke. At any rate we have here murkiness and confusion in abundance, and some of the paragraphs are almost chaotic in their want of form.

Passing over this discussion we come to an interesting description of Mr. Buckle's appearance as an Eastern traveller. “Mr. Buckle's Arabian costume was an old black dress-coat which, he himself said his valet would not have worn, a double-breasted cloth waistcoat, and winter trousers, all over thick flannel undergarments; a wide-awake with an ample *puggery* crowned his spare stooping figure, covered his bald head, and shaded his unshaven face. And he further endeavoured to protect himself from the sun by a constant white umbrella and an occasional black burnous. I was much amused, says Mr. Longmore, with his costume. He still wore the old swallow-tailed black coat I had seen with him



previously ; but instead of the decorous white shirt which had always previously formed part of his dress, he now wore a flannel shirt of Rob Roy tartan, that is, black and red check. This garment he seemed very proud of, and told us it was one of a parcel he had ordered out from England, flannel shirts having been recommended to him as the only convenient wear in the desert. His measure had not been very accurately given, and the long gaudy sleeves of the shirt protruded ever so far over his wrists, and beyond those of his clerical-looking coat." Mr. Glennie remarks on the weakening effect of Mr. Buckle's attire owing to its warmth producing excessive perspiration, and observes that the most remarkable thing was the irony of it all. "No man spoke more than Mr. Buckle of the laws of health, believed himself to have so due a regard for them, or made more of the morality of the observance of such laws." Certainly Mr. Buckle was in himself a rather unfortunate illustration of the practice which he advocated in his review of Mill's Essay on Liberty. There Mr. Buckle insisted much on the propriety of allowing eccentricity full scope in the matter of dress and suggested that valuable knowledge may often be lost by casting ridicule on peculiarity of costume. It may be so, but after all it appears to us that there is some sense in the worship of Mrs. Grundy, who is often only another name for propriety, and that the wisest course in such matters is to do common things in the common way. Mr. Buckle had much better have meekly followed the practices of other travellers than have given the reins to his individualism and excogitated a separate costume for himself.

The two travellers commenced their desert journey at Suez and their first stage was to the Wells of Moses. From thence they proceeded to the mountains of the Sinai range or, as Mr. Glennie calls them, the Alps of the Tûr ; and here they had an interesting discussion on the subject of Mr. Buckle's treatment of Scottish history. Mr. Glennie, of course, took up the view that Mr. Buckle had treated the Scotch somewhat unfairly and had given a one-sided representation of their character. But we do not think that Mr. Glennie's mode of defending his countrymen was very successful. The line of argument he adopted was that all the Scotch were not zealots for their religion and that there was a profane section of the people, and, as Mr. Glennie characteristically expresses it, "a remnant which had not bowed the knee to Moloch." But we think it must be admitted that this remnant was very small in numbers, and that it was still weaker in point of influence. It was a remnant composed chiefly of sensual indifferentists who had not sufficient activity of mind or moral earnestness to be interested about religion or about anything else out of themselves, and it could, therefore, only effect the national mind as a



drag does the wheel of a carriage, that is, it could impede its progress but it could not alter its direction. All the pith and marrow of the Scottish character belonged to the Presbyterian majority; and Mr. Buckle was, therefore, quite correct when he said that he had spoken in his writings of the mass of the people, and had nothing to do with the characterising of a "remnant." Mr. Buckle erred, we presume to think, not so much in neglecting the consideration of the sceptical remnant, as in not allowing sufficient merit to the fanatical majority. In the first place he exaggerated their fanaticism, or at least, made it too conspicuous by leaving the rest of their character in shadow. He quoted astounding passages from the serious writings of ministers and others—passages written when, as the Scotch expression has it, the authors had their sabbath-day faces on, and this he concluded, then represented the normal state of their minds. But it is perilous to judge a man's character by what he says in moments of excitement. In spite of their rigid notions and the ascetic tone of their sermons, there has always been a strong sense of humour and love of fun among Scotch ministers. No class indeed is more famed for the number and excellence of its anecdotes, as Dean Ramsay's book sufficiently proves. John Knox himself was by no means altogether a gloomy man or one who had spiritualised away all his manhood. He loved a glass of claret, he married a young wife, and could not endure his mother-in-law's religious despondency, and his sympathies were wide enough to admit of his having a strong love for a rough soldier like Kircaldy of Grange.

On the whole, however, we think that Mr. Buckle's treatment of the Scotch contains much that is true and valuable, and that all Scotchmen, who are real lovers of their country, should feel indebted to him for the pains he has taken with the subject. Foreigners seldom speak ill of a country without good reason, and it is much better that we Scotchmen should listen to their attacks and endeavour to profit by them, than that we should shut our ears or indulge in useless ebullition of temper. We are sure it is much better that we should be censured by Buckle, albeit a little sharply, than that we should listen to such self-glorifications as used at least to characterise St Andrew's dinners. And the study of Buckle is also much more wholesome than the cant which clergymen occasionally indulge in, about Scotland being a highly favoured land, and about our being wanting in gratitude to God for our many blessings, and the dangers we are consequently in of having our candlestick removed. No doubt we should be proud of our country, but that is no reason why we should insult other countries by claiming to be more enlightened or more highly favoured by God than they, or why we should blink facts or deny that both our country and our people want the light and warmth of the South.

Further on in the discussion Mr. Glennie makes a better defence for his countrymen than that which we have already referred to. He now takes higher ground and, instead of urging the existence of a dissentient remnant, he points out with great truth that the excesses of the Covenanters were the logical result of their creed. His words on this subject are worth quoting, especially as Mr. Buckle admitted that there was some force in them. "I think," says Mr. Glennie, "that the Scottish Covenanters and those of like mind, cannot be truly represented and fairly judged, if it is not seen that their intolerance, asceticism and bigotry was the necessary consequence of their Christian creed, in men of logical mind and passionate elevation of feelings. Hence, however, their creed may be denounced as false and pernicious, the men themselves are, I think, to be treated with all the honour, and even sympathy, that is ever the due of clear thought, and self-sacrificing devotion. For it was the same passion of feeling and logic of thought which have given Scottish thinkers their place in the history of European philosophy, that making Scottish believers thorough-going in their Christian doctrine, gave them their place in the history of Christian fanaticism."

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"And hence it is, that I think Covenanters, and those of like mind, should not be contemned as a mere monkish rabble or vilified as 'tyrants and torturers,' but rather honoured as noble, though pitied as tragically beguiled souls. But if passion and thorough-going logic—while these have been uninstructed by the facts of nature and of history, and confined within those Christian theories which have latterly shown themselves no less pernicious than false—have led to bigotry and intolerance; that same passion and logic, rightly instructed, will, one may hope, if Scotsmen still retain any distinctive natural character, make it impossible for them to be long-stayed in such a half-way house as English Broad Churchism with its fond sentimentalism, and foolish incoherencies, and will carry them on even to as forward a place, it may be, in the presently coming, as in that first stage of the modern Revolution called the Reformation."

It is natural enough after this outburst that Mr. Glennie should avow (page 221) that, as it was his fate to be brought up a Christian, he reckoned it a piece of good fortune that he was brought up in belief of the admirably logical system of Calvinism. We cannot say, however, that we agree with him. His remark is somewhat in the same spirit as Comte, when he congratulates France on having escaped "*la halte trompeuse*" of Protestantism, which, by the way, France did not do except by the abnormal process of the expatriation of many of her people. But we do not



see that there is any real ground for congratulation in either case. Broad Churchism and Protestantism may be only half-way houses, but surely if we have to make a toilsome and dangerous journey, it is better to commence at the half-way house than to have to undertake the whole journey. And hence we should think that if 'a child of the age' is going to make his progress to Positivism or to the Religion of Humanity, it is better that he should start as a Broad Churchman or a Unitarian than that he should do so as a Calvinist. Mr. Goldwin Smith well says, "Let us beware of revolutions" and surely the best way to avoid them is to slope the path from one stage of civilization to another, and such in effect is the work now being done by Broad Churchmen.

Great transitions, such as that from Calvinism to the Religion of Humanity, are apt to leave ugly scars and other marks of conflict, and, we think, we can see them in some passages of Mr. Glennie's book. The remembrance of Shorter Catechisms, of gloomy views of religion, and of unutterably wearisome Sundays, too often embitters the mind of the Scottish sceptic and prevents him from parting with his old faith without rancour, or with a tender regret for the loss of its associations.

It is a melancholy circumstance, we have often thought, that there is so little about the Scotch Churches or their services which can endear them to the young, or pleasantly entwine themselves with the recollections of our childhood. Even those Scotchmen who are most devotedly attached to their Church must, we think, admit that their love for it only began after they had grown up. Other countries have organs, peals of bells, ivy-mantled Church-portals, stained-glass windows, &c. In Scotland there is nothing for the most part but hideous churches and a bare and wearisome service.

The only other religion which is equally barren of ritual is Mahomedanism, as practised in Bengal, and we should fancy that Mahomedan boys and girls have little love for their faith. They probably, however, have not much active repugnance to it, for they are not obliged, we believe, to listen to long discourses or to fast.

The third chapter of Mr. Glennie's book is entitled the Mount of God, and is, to our thinking, the most eloquent and interesting in the whole volume. It is not a record of discussion, for Mr. Glennie felt that the place was too solemn for conversation. It was rather a place in which to commune with one's own heart and be still; for the travellers were now on Mount Sinai, and face to face with those peaks which seem even still to overshadow the world. "At the Mount of God the question of miracle is seen in its innermost core. Through the janglings about texts, and subtleties about that meant by them, one passes, not without something perhaps of the rudeness of contempt, to the essential



question : Is that testified to by miracle, itself miraculous ? For if a Law or a Faith testified to by presumed miracles, have nothing in its own nature miraculous ; have, the former nothing in its commandments, the latter nothing in its doctrines, different, not only in form, but in kind, from other systems of Law and of Faith ; then the incidental miracles must certainly be set down to that 'primitive culture' which we know to be universally characterized by miraculous narratives." The author then proceeds to discuss this question and finds that there is nothing miraculous in the precepts of the decalogue or anything essentially different from what man has been found capable of discovering for himself. He is led, then, to consider the vast amount of evil in the world and its bearing on the existence and attributes of God. Finally he puts to himself the question :—Is the existence of an uninterfering personal God indeed credible ?

"As we put the question behold a dread spectre gradually rising from the shadowy plain beneath us, till suddenly it towers as high as the Mount of God itself, and the last rays of sunset illumine with a fiery glow the horror of its naked visage. For a moment we take in our hands the veiling fictions of optimism. But no ! We dare rather behold the dread spectre in its nakedness than cast upon it transparent lies which would produce but an intolerable sneer. And evil unveiled confronts the uninterfering personal God who overshadows us now on Horeb. About its feet in the great plain, and thronging in from every glen of Sinai are innumerable chorusses of blasphemy. Their voices are like to, but far more terrible, than the winds, the lightnings, and the thunders of the Descent of God. For this is the Insurrection of Man. Weird-like shrieks and wailings of ghostly hermits, saints, and martyrs who have found the Heaven that lured them from earth but mockery ; the future joy for which they abandoned present delight, a bitter cheat ; the heavenly love for which they endured the crucifixion of earthly love, but dust. Fierce lightnings of the Prometheus-song of the poets and prophets of justice ; the wrath, scorn, and defiance of Titanic revolt ; cries ringing with the sublime accents of the willing self-sacrifice of that Divine Love which takes on itself the suffering of others, in order to assure for others the downfall of throned injustice. Continuous thunders of nations, of outcasts, felons, and unfortunates, wretches born or fated to misery, struggling for existence with famine and disease, and when successful, victorious only through infamy ; of some the voices loud in echoed laughter-peals of blasphemy ; the greater part, numbers without number, lifting the sad, hoarse voices of soulless slaves, with a pathetic patience, nay with some still ever thankfulness—more intolerable surely in its bitter though unconscious irony of blasphemy—more intolerable, surely, than



aught else, to their Creator—lifting the sad, hoarse voices of soulless slaves but in one tremendous ever-repeated burden,—like, save in the rolling depth of its thunders, to that with which the gladiators of the Amphitheatre greeted, ere they died, the divinity of a Cæsar, '*Morituri te salutant.*'

Leaving these thoughts the author consoles himself with the prospect of the New Ideal (Religion of Humanity?) which shall one day give guidance, joy, and beauty to life; and which will accord with the highest results of science and the most general conception of law.

From Mount Sinai the travellers proceeded on to the Gulf of Akaba, and on the way they had an interesting discussion on the subject of style. It is amusing to find each of the disputants standing up for what he was conscious was his own strong point. Mr. Buckle's style is excellent, and hence we find that he "set everything on style, attached the greatest importance to its cultivation; and declared that it so influenced men that that alone would preserve one's fame." Mr. Glennie on the other hand being conscious that he himself was addicted to dreamy meditation, and that he had somewhat neglected the art of expression, insisted on the superiority of ideas to style, and drew a parallel between the brooding student and the working or literary one to the advantage of the former. Mr. Buckle's remarks on this subject are worth quoting. "He liked thinking, he said, but seldom gave himself up to it. He read in order that he might think, rather than thought in order that he might read, and advised me to do the same." Further on Mr. Buckle expatiated on the masterly qualities of Macaulay's style, and the "jargon" as he called it, of Carlyle. Perhaps this last view is likely to provoke less criticism at the present time than it would have done some years ago. We suspect that Carlyle's style like all other mannerisms has had its day; and that many who in their youth greatly admired it and founded themselves upon it, are now willing to admit that Carlyle's mode of writing is essentially un-English, that it is jerky and affected, and that his thoughts when disinterred from their mountains of verbiage and extravagance, are after all not unfrequently commonplace or incorrect. There is indeed something ironical in Carlyle's present position in the world of letters. No one has denounced clothes more than he, or insisted more strongly on the duty of exhibiting the naked truth, and yet no one has been more indebted than he to the wrappages of mysteriously-sounding phrases. With these he has veiled his thoughts and made them for a time look vast and deep; but they have been inevitably made to look smaller by the strong sun-beams of advancing truth and shown to be after all, but "two-forked radishes with heads fantastically carved."

Mr. Glennie is possessed with the idea that he has discovered a new law of history, and he has devoted a chapter, entitled "The Shore of the Sea of Coral," to an exposition of his views. This is to us the most unintelligible part of the book; and it is a consolation to find that the exposition puzzled Mr. Buckle, who is candidly introduced as saying "I do not follow you, I confess." Mr. Glennie's supposed discovery relates to a development of the principle of the conservation of energy and a new conception of causation. The result of his meditations has been, he says "The definition of the conception of law or of the scientific conception of causation, as the conception, not merely of uniformity of sequence, but also of mutuality of co-existence or mutual determination." Whereon Mr. Buckle very naturally observes "You must expect to have this received with a good deal of questioning." A little further on Mr. Glennie defines causation as a differential relation between co-existents. We are not metaphysical enough to be able to do justice to Mr. Glennie's views, but as far as we understand them, they do not appear to contain anything which is really novel, and this also appears to have been Mr. Buckle's opinion. Indeed, it seems to us, that all Mr. Glennie has done, has been to enunciate the principle of the conservation of energy in new and not very intelligible language. However, it is but fair to state that Mr. Glennie appears to have reserved the full exposition of his views for another book which we have not seen, and which is entitled "In the Morning-land, or the Law of the Modern Revolution."

Mr. Glennie is of opinion that the principle of the conservation of energy, as enunciated by him, will effectually shut the mouths of "miracle arguers," as he styles them, by showing that the cause of all phenomena whatever, must be found in the system of things and not in any personal agents outside of that system. But we cannot think that such reasonings will ever have weight with those who refuse to be convinced by the ordinary arguments against miracles. The strongest argument against belief in miracles seems to be, that there is no need to believe them, inasmuch as that there is nothing extraordinary or miraculous in the religion which they are supposed to avouch. If the doctrines of Christianity and its success can be explained on natural principles, then its miracles may certainly, as Mr. Glennie himself has remarked, be set down to "the primitive culture which is universally characterised by miraculous narratives." And we observe that Mr. Matthew Arnold grounds his disbelief of miracles on this argument of "primitive culture," and declares that it is lost labour to be arguing for or against them.

The last discussion which the travellers held took place on "the Battle-field of Armageddon;" and, as if there had been



something in the influence of the place, it was the only one in which the disputants had something like a quarrel. Mr. Glennie anticipates that the progress of the Modern Revolution will be marked by sanguinary battles, and that possibly the plain of Armageddon may be the scene of the final struggle. We trust, however, that if any battle ever takes place again in Armageddon, it will be such a bloodless one as that waged between Messrs. Buckle and Glennie. The travellers traversed the Holy Land together and finally parted company at Damascus. There are some graphic descriptions of scenery in the part entitled Lebanon, and some interesting remarks on the non-fulfilment of prophecy as regards Tyre; but we think we have now said enough about *Pilgrim Memories*. It contains many interesting traits of Mr. Buckle's character, though some things which were mentioned in the notice published by Mr. Glennie shortly after his friend's death, have been wisely omitted from this book. The impression produced is not altogether favourable to Mr. Buckle, and shows that he was by no means exempt from the peculiarities of a solitary student. We learn that music was to him but noise, that he had a contempt for poets, except two or three, that he considered vice to be better than ignorance, and that he was a somewhat effeminate traveller. On the other hand the passion with which he clung to a belief in immortality testifies to the strength of his affections; and his undertaking the troublesome charge of two boys on a tour in the East, appears to prove a fondness for children. He died at Damascus on the 29th May 1862, and was buried in the Protestant cemetery there, thus adding one other to the many interesting associations connected with the most ancient city of the world.

H. BEVERIDGE B.C.S.

#### ART. V.—TRANSPORTATION FOR LIFE.

“CERTAINLY the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments; and it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding when it can hold men’s hearts by hopes when it cannot by satisfaction, and when it can handle things in such manner as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope.”

In this profound axiom of Bacon’s there lies hid, it may be affirmed, though it be at so great a depth as rarely to obtrude itself upon our notice, the main axis upon which our entire penal system now both rests and revolves. Hope, which “springs eternal in the human breast,” has ever been a more powerful agent and motive power than fear, though its influence had, perhaps, been but imperfectly recognized and availed of in punitive discipline until public attention was forcibly drawn to the disgraceful state of our English prisons, about a century since, by the exertions and disclosures of Howard and others. Experience, which has uniformly and consistently demonstrated that a blank and hopeless despair can but tend to generate and foster evil resolutions and courses, has proved that it is to hope alone that we must turn would we seek to examine the mainspring and source of all permanent reinforcement and reformation with our criminal classes.

On the terrible sufferings formerly incurred in our jails, those “cemeteries of pain,” as they have been termed, space will not permit that we should dwell, the subject being perhaps, moreover, somewhat beyond the limits and scope of this present article; but some conception may be attained both of the change which has come over public opinion, and of its advance to the more enlightened views of the present day upon the causes and treatment of crime, when it is stated that scarcely a century has elapsed since our laws showed the enactment of a death penalty to be still in force for no less than 200 different offences, whilst men were hung for the theft of a pair of shoes, of a skein of thread, or for the crime of arson, equally with the most cruel and brutal murderers. It was only, in fact, so recently as the year 1841, that the punishment of transportation for life was by law substituted for the penalty of death in cases of rape, forgery and embezzlement, which had previously been capital offences. The English Government having in the session of that year introduced and carried a bill upon the subject, in modification of that “for the



abolition of capital punishment in certain cases," introduced by Mr. Fitzroy Kelly.

It may fairly be contended that the march of enlightenment, advancing with the rapid spread of education during the past few years, has alone sanctioned and permitted the entertainment and expression of views in regard to both the causes and treatment of crime, which have allowed the accord of due weight and consideration to the disturbing influences and action of moral evil upon the intelligences of mankind, or that Equity, which has been fitly termed "the right witness that considereth all the particular circumstances of the deed, the which also is tempered with the sweetness of Mercy," has been able to raise her voice to press her claims with any fair meed of success. It is not that the subject of crime and criminals has not been fairly and fully considered by the Legislature from time to time; for, as pointed out by the writer of a recent article in one of the Magazines, since the days of the Plantagenets upwards of 14,000 Acts of Parliament have been passed for penal purposes alone. But the difficulties requiring to be contended with are great, the interests involved are vast, the awakening to more enlightened views is so recent, the horror of crime so deeply rooted a sentiment, that the advance is necessarily gradual, and it is felt that, as real progress requires to base its foundations upon long protracted tests and trials, all tentative and experimental action should be cautiously avoided, lest it should prove that in steering clear of Scylla, we founder upon Charybdis.

It is still not infrequently assumed that men, capable of the commission of crime (more particularly of crimes of passion) must necessarily be of essentially lower and more brutal natures than those by whom they are surrounded, and that they are in consequence so little sensitive to the moral distress which incarceration in a jail inflicts on men of higher organizations, that we are wholly wrong when we attempt to calculate the deterrent effects of punishment upon them by any consideration of what would be our own sufferings under similar given circumstances. Few who have given earnest attention to the subject, however, but will affirm that no error could be greater or more fatal to all progress in dealing with these matters, than that which would classify all criminals alike in one universal category of men whose moral natures have sunk so low as to be insusceptible of reclamation or of mental reinforcement.

"Export the criminals and paupers" \* advises a correspondent

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\* The annual return of pauperism persons in receipt of relief from the in England, on New Years Day, rates.  
1875, shows no less than 817,822 In-door paupers ... 155,655.

of one of the papers of the day, writing under the stimulus of the recent discovery of a heinous crime. "Export the criminals and paupers to an inaccessible island † and in three generations they would be nearly extinct, and the remnant would have sunk to the level of Australian savages; while at home the breed would hardly be renewed. For a race of this sort, the whip and the cat are fitting and effectual punishments, perhaps the only punishment that can be said to be really fitting and effectual, and no sentiment of pity or of weakness for them mingles in our objections, &c."

The award of punishment by imprisonment or restriction of personal liberty, to be worthy of the name in its present acceptation, however, implies in its infliction, a dual and far different signification. First, in that it offers a deterrent example of retributive suffering imposed on the offender and exacted by the law for an infraction of its provisions (enacted for the mutual protection of society); and secondly, that it ensures a probationary restraint, imposed primarily for the benefit of the community, but also for that of the offender himself, and which will admit of the latter's mental rehabilitation and reinforcement justifying his eventual return (purged of his fault) to the society from which his crime had necessitated the ordeal of his temporary banishment—

Our greatness will appear then most conspicuous, teaches Milton:—

When great things of small,  
Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse,  
We can create: and in what place so'er  
Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain,  
Through labour and endurance.

If then we so contrive our punitive discipline as to either ignore or allow no scope for the principles and hopes of explanation, and refuse to consider the powerful influences to regeneration incited by hope, shall we not be wilfully putting from us a means ready to our hand, at once the most cogent factor which could be brought to bear upon those whom we desire to influence. *Cor ne edito*—"Eat not the heart," urges the parable of Pythagoras, and setting aside the revolt of all natures ‡ against the petty vexations and minute oppressions inseparable to prison rule, which chafe and mortify even the least sensitive natures, there can be no doubt but that to doom a criminal "to feed on

Out-door „ ... 662,167

This would give 1 in 28, or 3·6 per cent. on the entire population according to the census of 1871.

† The time-honoured assertion—  
'Cælum non animam mutant qui  
'trans mare currunt' would seem to

have been accepted in its integrity in this disposal of our poverty-stricken and criminal classes by this writer.

‡ The number of punishments for petty prison offences in convict prisons in England alone in 1872, was 25,613 and in 1873, was 21,865.



ashes" which is the inevitable sequence and result of the elimination of all hope, is but to prostrate and relegate him to a reckless despair. Whilst to afford him the opportunity and encouragement of earning, through steadily progressive stages of labour and trial, the means not only of mitigating the severity, but the *duration* of his punishment, is to work upon and stimulate the strongest influences of moral amendment of which he is susceptible. In his address to the International Penitentiary Congress of 1872, Lord Carnarvon, than whom there is, perhaps, no more earnest or devoted advocate of penal reforms, strongly presses this point and urges, that all systems of penal discipline should provide for, first, real and unquestionable severity of punishment both in amount and kind, and secondly, reasonable opportunity of moral reformation, that to come short of the first is to come short of justice to society in its first and simplest conditions, whilst to fail in the latter is to withhold from the prisoner that which is due to him whatever may be the extent of his guilt. So far as can be foreseen, the interests of the public will long continue to necessitate severity of punishment and the infliction of the penalty of personal restraint above all others, as a means both of effectual correction and of inducing reformation and reclamation of the offender.

The attention which has latterly been devoted to the study of the general laws of the alliance of mind and body, has elicited much important evidence which, but tends to confirm the theories which have hitherto from time to time been somewhat hesitatingly advanced, but which are now rapidly gaining ground, in regard to the direct connection of crime with physical disturbances of the brain-matter and temporary derangement of the mental faculties and equipoise. And, although it may be that a tendency has, perhaps, been developed in its train to generalise too hastily from such facts, yet ascertained, as are based upon reliable data, the consideration of the doctrine of the irresponsibility of a temporarily disturbed intellect for criminal acts is forcing itself upon the public mind and attention, and will unquestionably, largely influence future legislation upon the subject of heinous crime. Trenching as it does so narrowly upon questions of public safety, the unhesitating general acceptance of the doctrine, "that a single insane delusion should be considered sufficient to destroy criminal responsibility, even for acts which the delusion did not prompt, and that it should confer upon its subject exemption from punishment, strictly so-called, although leaving him liable to confinement for his own good or the safety of others," cannot be at once looked for. That there is a growing opinion unfavorable to the extinction of life, as a mode of punishment, our penal statutes and the yearly decreasing number of



capital punishments sufficiently attest ; whilst on the other hand a life restraint, although it still finds place in the sentence of the judge, has practically ceased to be given effect to amongst all more civilized communities. The rapid and comparatively recent modifications of the English laws upon the subject of transportation have been most remarkable. In the year 1840, the complete abolition of sentences of transportation was strongly pressed upon the English Government of the day by Sir W. Molesworth in the Commons, and the Archbishop of Dublin in the Lords and, in fact so strong was the pressure brought to bear, that the point was conceded by the Government except as regarded Western Australia. In 1853 an act to substitute, in certain cases, other punishments in lieu of transportation, was brought in by Lord Chancellor Cranworth during the Aberdeen Ministry, and the important modifications of penal servitude, with remissions under Tickets of Leave, were first introduced. Again in 1857, still further amendments were effected, when Sir George Grey, then Home Secretary, basing his recommendations upon the report of a Committee of the House of Commons, carried a measure which, while effecting considerable important changes, maintained, and finally established beyond revocation, the practice of granting mitigation of sentences as a reward for good conduct, whilst restricting the range of their remission. The discharges, however, were rendered, generally speaking, unconditional.\* To the further enactments of 1864 (the Penal Servitude Act) the result of the labors of the Penal Servitude Commission, to the (Prisons) Act of 1865, the result of the House of Lords Committee on Prison Discipline, to the Habitual Criminals Act of 1869 (the result of the cessation of transportation) and to the Prevention of Crime Act of 1871, it is not necessary further to refer, than for the purpose of indicating the various progressive phases through which public opinion may be inferred to have passed implied in the consideration, adoption and sanction of these measures.

The leading principles so long persistently and ably advocated by Sir Walter Crofton for our great penal system, have at length been fully recognized, not only in England and the United States of America, but by most Continental nations, and it is found that successive stages of penal labour leading up to a final discharge on Ticket-of-Leave, or otherwise, guarded in some cases by subsequent police supervision for fixed periods is, of all others, the system which experience now commends to universal adoption. Political and other considerations may occasionally intervene to preclude the acceptation, in its integrity, of the scheme, but it is at length realized and admitted that the most injudicious

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\* For terms of licences now granted to English convicts see Statutes, 16 and 17 Vic. c. 99 s. 9, and 27 and 28 Vic. c. 47 s. 4.



course which can be pursued is that which, whilst it deprives the criminal of all hope, leaves him a prey to the fever and ever present discontentment of despair. *Dolendi modus timendi non item.* As has been so forcibly argued by Thomas Carlyle "Despotism is essential in most enterprises, but make your despotism *Just*. Rigorous as destiny; but just too as destiny and its laws."

Of the various countries which have accepted the principles of conditional pardon or remission of sentences, the following details of the courses adopted for giving effect to these views may prove not uninteresting. They are gathered from the voluminous report of the International Penitentiary Congress, which met in London some three years since.

In Germany, it would seem, that two courses are open to a convict, and the duration of the term of his original punishment may be curtailed either by an order from the Ministry of Justice when  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the sentence has been accomplished with good conduct; or, by the clemency of the Emperor, a free pardon may be obtained upon official representation and petition on the part of the Governors of prisons. In the former case a minimum of one year's punishment is, however, prescribed. In Italy the formation of agricultural penal colonies on the islands of Pianosa and Gorgona has admitted of trial being accorded to a system which assimilates transportation. Prisoners who have attained to the highest class, through persistent good conduct, are recommended to mercy, and eventually released under certain conditions. In Sweden life prisoners are ordinarily released after ten years incarceration. There is no statutory abridgment of the term of confinement, but Royal pardons are ordinarily granted by the King after this term. In Norway the latter course is also followed. In the United States of America, the "Commutation Laws" allow of sentences being abridged for good behaviour during incarceration. In France prisoners placed on the list of preservation may, under an Ordinance of February 1818, be restored by pardon to free life, one-half the term of servitude only being ordinarily exacted. Certain exceptions in the case of political prisoners whose return to society might be attended with danger to the public safety are, however, enforced. In Belgium the administrative boards are permitted to recommend to the Minister of Justice cases deserving of remission, and the Royal clemency is then extended to them. There is, however, no fixed term of detention. In Austria a large number of prisoners who have undergone the greater portion of their term of incarceration are annually recommended to, and pardoned by the Emperor, whilst in the Netherlands, as in Germany, two courses are possible under a Royal decree of 1856: the one



an application direct to the King for pardon, the other preferred through the administrative commissions of central prisons, for pardons as well as for remissions of sentence. In Switzerland the legislative authority (Great Council) reserves to itself the right of pardoning, whilst in Russia, it would appear, that though the principle is admitted and is not without precedent in its enforcement, no rules have been yet prescribed or framed. In England one-fourth of the whole period may be commuted after a deduction of nine months passed in solitary confinement. In fact the remission of sentences earned by industry and good conduct and the methods of conditional liberation may be said to have now become an integral portion of the penal system in force throughout the civilized world.

"It is quite evident," urges Sir Walter Crofton, "that conditional liberty and registration are the only means of obtaining reliable statistics of criminals, and thereby testing the value of our prison training. It protects society, for the criminal who consorts with bad companions and shows he meditates criminal courses, is at once re-consigned to the prison from which he was liberated at too early a period. It surrounds the commission of crime with obstructions so formidable as to break up habitual offenders."

In India, in the Penal Settlement of Port Blair in the Andaman Islands, it has, however, been hitherto considered inexpedient to follow the course elsewhere adopted in the case of prisoners sentenced to transportation for life; and it was only in July of the year 1874, that a resolution was at length passed by the Indian Government to the effect, that the hope of eventual pardon should be held out to life convicts, who by a sustained course of good conduct in transportation might have earned a claim to the indulgence, either by conspicuous gallantry or devotion in the service of Government, or upon the completion of twenty years imprisonment (on the recommendation of the Superintendent). Practical effect has not yet, however, been given to the resolution, although it is believed that arrangements are in progress, in that view. Two stipulations only are attached to the latter of the two conditions, the first having reference to the convict having borne an uniformly good character in transportation, the second being a proviso that the return to his country of the criminal so released, shall not be dangerous to society or to public order. On the grounds of humanity, of political expediency, and in the interests and welfare of the settlement,\* no more politic decision could have been arrived at; and it would be matter of grave apprehension and regret were the fulfilment of the hopes thus raised, of

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\* Upwards of 20,000 convicts have been received in the Andaman Islands since the second opening of Port Blair as a Penal Settlement in the year 1858.



the expectations thus excited, in any way marred or unduly delayed in their fulfilment from causes within control. With natives of India the love of home is simply ineradicable and undying; and no inducements or advantages that could be offered, would compensate for or equal, the boon of freedom with a return to their homes (even at the expiration of twenty years of toil and labor) thus held out to them.

Speaking of English criminals, Lord Carnarvon has given expression to an opinion which is deserving of thoughtful consideration in regard to this subject:—"The adequacy of punishment," he urges, "is primarily secured in the terms of the judge's sentence by hard labour; but it must not be forgotten that hard labour is largely supplemented by the separation of prisoners, by the restraint, the regularity of hours and occupations, the compulsory cleanliness, the enforced abstinence from drink and excess, and the usual animal tastes, and perhaps, most of all, by that separation and seclusion, which are utterly foreign to the life of the ordinary criminal." And much of this is applicable in no measured degree to our Indian convicts. If to this, be added the banishment across the seas involved in a sentence of transportation, the infrequency of communication with families and relatives, the loss of any property which may have been held (and which invariably passes to other hands), the enforced intermingling of castes\*—and in the case of death, cremation or burial at the hands of strangers, in a strange land, some conception may be gained of the tenacious retention of the hope of ultimate return to the land of his birth which with transported Indian prisoners never dies. Thrilling narratives might be adduced of the risks which have often been incurred in attempted escapes, where life itself seemed scarcely worth the perils and privations willingly and patiently endured by land or sea, in impenetrable jungles surrounded by hostile savages, or cast without food or water upon the trackless ocean; but no words could adequately convey the intense desire and passionate longing for home which animates the native mind. Thither, though almost certain of ensuring his re-apprehension, his footsteps will lead him again and again

\* The number of convicts on the 1st January 1876 stood at 8,295, but this number will now rapidly increase owing to the recent orders of Government to re-commence the transportation of term convicts which had been abandoned for some years.

From all parts of British India	8,003
„ Straits of Malacca	10
„ Ceylon	32

From Burmah	...	83
„ Hyderabad assigned districts	...	167

Convicts are received from Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Oudh, the Central Provinces, Punjab, North-West, Assam, &c., and the confusion of caste and dialects can be better imagined than described.

with a power it seems futile to him to attempt to resist. Tradition, associations and affection, all combine to attach him irresistibly to the soil. If re-arrested it is but *kismet*, fate, or misfortune. He knows the penalty, nor does he shrink from it. Men, as has with truth often been urged, are powerfully actuated and influenced by the wants and circumstances of the moment, and things, which in a state of personal freedom are of small account, become in jails of the highest consequence and moment, and of this fact we should never lose sight in matters of penal discipline. Having then, thus ready to our hand an influence of this magnitude and power for controlling the better influences of those with whom we have to deal, it cannot but seem, that the justification which would warrant our abstaining from its judicious application should be strong indeed.

"If you would work any man," argues Bacon, "you must either know his nature and fashions and so lead him; or his ends and so persuade him, or his weakness and disadvantages and so awe him, or those that have interest in him and so govern him," and the advice certainly commends itself to the judgment. We have in this love of home the strongest motive power which can be brought to bear; and its extensive incitement would no doubt prove of the utmost value as a disciplinary aid. The state of craving for anything which is withheld is said, moreover, to be an internal conflict lowering the general vitality. In his excellent little work '*Mind and Body*,'\* Bain in considering the theory of punishment offers some remarks upon the physical theory of pleasure and pain in its direct bearing on punishment and prison discipline, which are worthy of attentive consideration in this view. He contends that if the craving dies away after a time, the depression ceases, whilst the punishment it involves necessarily ceases with it, and argues that in whatever cases confinement (by its irksomeness, deprivations or otherwise,) operates as a serious punishment, the deterioration of the criminal is almost certain. On the extension of the application of these principles space will not admit, however, that we should dwell. To their practical value and truth those who have acquired experience of prison discipline will bear the warmest testimony.

The theory advanced by Buckle in his uncompleted *History of English Civilization*, that in every population, under given circumstances, there will be an unvarying proportion and average of crime, certainly receives confirmation as regards India from the annual transportaion returns of our Indian Tasmania† if allowance be made in the fluctuations shown for the cessation

\* *Mind and Body*. The theories of their relation by Alex. Bain, L.L.D., King & Co., London. 1874.

† The number of convicts received at Port Blair in each year has been as follows.—



of the deportation of term convicts and other causes which have influenced these statements in no inconsiderable degree; and we may, therefore, unhesitatingly assume that in the absence of important modifications of the system which has hitherto been pursued, the evils to which we have referred will be more likely to be aggravated than to steadily diminish as the improvement of our police system, and its more extended application in India adds annually to the seething mass of human frailty and crime with which our courts are already called upon to deal.

In his predictions of the future of the human race the Archangel Michael is made by Milton† to take anything but a sanguine view of the cessation of the contest between Sin and Law—

Doubt not but that sin  
Will reign among them, as of thee begot;  
And, therefore, was law given them, to evince  
Their natural pravity, by stirring up  
Sin against law to fight

and whatever may be the historic value which is in the present century attached to the traditions of the introduction of sin to the earth as the result and sequence "of man's first disobedience and the fruit of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste brought death into the world, and all our woe with loss of Eden," there are few who will refuse to admit (warned by the teachings of cumulative experience in the past) that the distant horizon of the future, so far as our limited range of sight will permit its examination,

1858	...	1,949	
1859	...	1,813	
1860	...	733	
1861	...	831	
1862	...	1,053	
1863	...	1,731	
1864	...	965	
1865	...	2,235	
1866	...	2,190	
1867	...	1,129	
1868	...	659	During these years the transportation of term convicts has been in abeyance, it was resumed in the latter part of the year 1875, only.
1869	...	685	
1870	...	442	
1871	...	720	
1872	...	651	
1873	...	698	
1874	...	863	
1875	...	1,016	
1876, Jan.		127	

The increase of heinous crime in the settlement during the years which have continued to deprive it of the admixture of term convicts (released from year to year) has been singularly marked, and has

necessarily left a large residue of criminals to be dealt with, who are men destitute of all hope of ultimate release save that afforded by the Government promise to which reference has been made. The practical effect of the releases of life prisoners after 20 years would be to transfer the restraining influences for good hitherto exercised by a leaven of term men to the whole body of the prisoners in their conversion from life to term prisoners, i. e., to men with reasonable hope and prospect of release after unexceptional good conduct for 20 years.

Further transportation of term men save in exceptional cases could probably thus be obviated and no inconsiderable saving of the costly burden of the Settlement to the State would ensue.

† Paradise Lost, Book xii. Line 285 et seq.

affords no indication of the ultimate triumph of law in the extermination of crime.

" Law can discover sin, but not remove  
Save by shadowy expiations weak."

In his interesting and able work, *A Short History of the English People*, Green has traced, in an excellent sketch, the gradual growth of the present system of administration of the laws from the earliest days, when both order and law rested in each little group of English people upon the blood-bond which knit together its families, down to the present elaborate judicial provisions. He shows how from the recognition of the importance and value of this family bond, as a means of restraining the wrong-doer by forces which the tribe as a whole did not yet possess, sprang the first conceptions and ruder forms of English justice. The institution of the "blood-wite" (or money compensation) for personal wrong paid first by the offender, but later, in the case of life and limb, imposed upon and paid by the family or house of the wrong-doer to the family or house of the person wronged, mark important advances upon the primitive system under which justice had to spring from personal action, and every freeman was his own avenger, and show how the growing sense of public justice, even in the earliest phases of English society, endeavoured to modify and restrict the right of self-defence. In the safe guards with which the administration of justice is now surrounded, in the more enlightened recognition of the real aims and object of our punishments, in the decreased severity of our penal statutes, and in our treatment of our criminals during their incarceration, how vast have been the changes effected even during the past century.

It is the boast and glory of England that she has through a long series of years maintained and preserved unsullied the proud traditions of the purity and impartiality of her tribunals; that the distinguished office of her judges has ever been conferred but upon men eminent for learning, for impartiality for discernment, having "the intuitive decision of a bright and thorough-edged intellect, to part error from crime"—men before whom fallacies and sophistries are alike refuted or vanish "like streaks of morning cloud."

"I stand" pleaded Mr. (now Lord Chief Justice) Cockburn in a memorable trial :\* "I stand, in a British Court, where Justice, with Mercy for her handmaid, sits enthroned on the noblest of

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\* Defence of McNaughten in the assassination of Mr. Drummond, Private Secretary to Sir Robert Peel. The prisoner was found to be insane. The trial attracted special public and party interest, Sir Robert Peel having in debate charged Mr. Cobden with a design to hold him up personally as a mark for the pistol of an assassin.



ber altars, dispelling by the brightness of her presence the clouds which occasionally gather over human intelligence, and aweing into silence by the holiness of her eternal majesty, the angry passions which sometimes intrude beyond the threshold of her sanctuary, and force their way even to the very steps of her throne."

The most elevated sentiments of which humanity is capable have, perhaps, most often found their expression from the judicial bench, whilst on the other hand there can be but little doubt that the entire trust and confidence reposed in them by the public has in no small degree contributed the means of the elevation of the judges to the height of their sacred duties. The intelligent observer has but to take some crucial case in which local public feeling has been intensely aroused and excited and to watch its progress through the courts to realize how fully this absolute confidence is merited by the result. Issues of fact of a difficulty apparently and complexity baffling all ordinary untrained judgment; irreconcilable discrepancies of testimony of so contradictory a character as to appear incapable of consistent adjustment, and which would result but in abortive proceedings if left to the bewildered disentanglement of an embarrassed and perplexed jury, alike find a calm and practical solution when reduced by the clear perceptive intellect of the judge to precise analysis and divested of all the foreign and extraneous influences, which, with consummate skill in their manipulation, he has succeeded in eliminating from the confused and heterogeneous mass as originally presented for elucidation. Nor is this all. In the avoidance of strained inferences and the repudiation of severe constructions it is left entirely with the judges to temper justice with mercy in their administration and enforcement of the laws, and whilst "casting a severe eye upon the example, to bend a merciful eye upon the person." How often, too, has not an erring prisoner found that if they have to read the law, an accent "very low in blandishment," they are yet gifted with

A most silver flow,  
Of subtle-paced counsel in distress,  
Right to the heart and brain, tho' undescried,  
Winning its way with extreme gentleness  
Through all the bulwarks of suspicious pride.

According to the institutes of Menu "the whole race of men is kept in order by punishment \* \* Through fear of punishment, this universe is enabled to enjoy its blessings \* \* All classes would become corrupt, all barriers would be destroyed, there would be a total confusion among men, if punishment were not

inflicted or inflicted unduly. But, it is added "where punishment with a black hue and a red eye, advances to destroy sin, there if the judge discern well, the people are undisturbed."

As has been already observed the adequacy of punishment is primarily secured in the terms of the judge's sentence by hard labor, but the actual infliction of the award so pronounced and the ultimate fate of the criminal are matters beyond the province of the court, the prisoner being then virtually transferred from the judicial to the executive branch of the administration for the fulfilment of the sentence passed. Whilst, therefore, the award of punishment necessarily and properly rests with the bench, the consideration of any claims to mitigation later earned by good conduct and industry is placed absolutely and entirely in the hands of the executive. Special provision has been made in India (by Sec. 322 of Act X of 1872 and otherwise) by the Legislature to meet this contingency; and as considerations of humanity, of policy and of equity alike press the extensive adoption of a system everywhere found to be fraught with such substantial advantages, there is reason to hope that the action already taken but fore-shadows a liberal application of the principles of conditional pardons and remissions of sentences in India to which we have already referred.

The importance of the subject can, perhaps, scarcely be over-estimated. In the words of Lord Carnarvon, from whose address we have already quoted "it concerns the Statesman whose legislation may modify, if it cannot arrest the course of crime, it concerns the whole body of the community, rich and poor, but especially the poor, who annually pay a far heavier tax to the criminal class than they do to the State for the administration of justice; and lastly, it concerns all who believe that man, however fallen and degraded, still retains some traces of the Divine Image; and that, though it is the duty of the State to punish sternly, there yet remains a certain portion of the criminal class with whom some moral improvement is not utterly hopeless, and upon whom Christian charity may exercise her most beneficent influences."

W. B. BIRCH.



## ART. VI.—THE LOGICAL DOCTRINE OF THE PROPOSITION.

IN offering an article upon a subject such as this to the readers of this *Review*, the writer feels a kind of necessity laid upon him to say a few words by way of explanation, perhaps even of apology. The logical doctrine of the Proposition is not one in which probably a large number of readers take a very deep interest; it is not apparently connected with *India* in any peculiar manner or degree; and, therefore, there may seem to be no particular reason why it should be discussed in the pages of the *Review* so long identified with the metropolis of the Indian empire. It is for the purpose of removing this *prima facie* prejudice against our subject that we offer this explanation.

We presume that all our readers will agree with us in holding that it is the exercise of *thought* which is the crowning glory of man; and that the *proper* exercise of thought is the great distinction between the wise and the foolish man. Thought being thus such an exceedingly important function of humanity, it follows that the correct study and analysis of thought is a very important department of science. What is important for mankind at large is therefore important for the inhabitants of India, and hence follows the legitimacy of the discussion of this subject in this *Review*. But we think that we can claim also a *special* appropriateness for our subject. Western education in India is yet in its infancy; the Calcutta University is only a creature of yesterday. While, therefore, it is of importance to introduce from Europe whatever is valuable in literature and science and art, it appears to be of equal importance to exclude or to modify systems or doctrines of questionable worth and accuracy. It would be a pity that the educational system of India should be loaded in its infancy with antiquated or inaccurate doctrines which the leading thinkers of the West have discarded. It is especially in the department of philosophy that there is the greatest danger of antiquated survivals being retained; partly because the science itself is still scarcely rescued from the chaotic haze with which it has so long been surrounded, partly because the students of the science are in too many cases prevented by prejudice from seeing truth, and partly because it is an exceedingly difficult thing to dislodge any system of teaching from its position, even after its inaccuracy or inutility has been demonstrated. The present paper proposes to take only a very limited department of the great sphere embraced by philosophy, a limited department even of the sphere of thought. And if this humble



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contribution has any effect in correcting any erroneous doctrines, or in leading to the introduction of a more accurate study of the nature of the most important function of our mind, the object of the writer will be accomplished.

Every act of thinking involves the perception or the conception of *some relation* between two or more objects of knowledge or belief. A vast variety and multiplicity of objects, presentations and representations combine to make up our conscious mental life; and when we are engaged in contemplating the *relations* of those objects we are said to be thinking. The assertion or the denial of any relation is made in the *proposition*, the nature of which is the subject of the present paper. But, before advancing to the discussion of the nature and form of the proposition, we shall examine and classify the relations which are asserted or denied in propositions.

One of the most essential of the relations of phenomena is *difference*. The only way in which we can distinguish a smell, for example, from a taste, or a sound from a colour, or one colour from another, is by perceiving the difference between them. We could not know anything at all except by knowing it as different from something else, and thus difference is one of the most essential elements of our conscious life. But it would be impossible to perceive difference if we were not able to bring the two differing objects side by side and compare them; and thus the condition of perceiving difference is simultaneous contiguity, or, as we shall call it, for simplicity's sake, *simultaneity*. We could not have a continuous and identical conscious life without being able to recall the past and connect it with the present. We believe that we are the same beings that we were some time ago, because we can remember things that we then knew; we can now represent to our minds what was formerly presented. But we could not do this without perceiving a *resemblance* between the present representation and the past presentation. Thus the perception of resemblance is the condition of a *continuous* conscious life, as the perception of difference is the condition of a *momentary* conscious life. The perception of continuity, however, involves that of *succession* of one phenomenon succeeding another; and the perception of succession again involves that of difference. We can only know ourselves as continuously existing cognitive beings by knowing succeeding phenomena differenced from one another, and by knowing past phenomena by means of resembling representations of them.

Here we have described the most universal and essential of the relations of our conscious life. We could not be permanent cognitive beings at all without being able to perceive and actually perceiving these relations. Thus difference and resemblance,



simultaneity and succession, are relations which enter into our very constitution as cognitive beings; without them thought would be impossible, and thus they may be called the *a priori* conditions, or the primitive essential elements of thought.

If now, we consider the *objects* of our knowledge we shall reach another division of relations subordinate to the above. All objects which are related to one another may be distinguished into *quantities* and *qualities*. The latter correspond to the *sensations* of which we are or may be conscious; the former consist of the *Form* of sensations or objects, namely, the space, time, motion and so on, by which sense objects are conditioned. Again the relations of all objects or classes which may be predicated are either *internal* or *external*; the former being the relations of objects or classes to internal constituent qualities or parts, the latter to other external objects or classes. Internal and external relations may be both quantitative and qualitative, and thus we have a four-fold division of relations into:—I, Internal Quantitative; II, Internal Qualitative; III, External Quantitative; IV, External Qualitative. This classification is founded upon and not exclusive of our former division of the four primary relations, as will be seen from the following table:—

I. Internal Quantitative Relations comprehend:—	II. Internal Qualitative Relations comprehend:—	III. External Quantitative Relations comprehend:—	IV. External Qualitative Relations comprehend:—
Relations of figure, size, shape, motion, number, and so on, of the constituent parts or elements of objects, classes or systems. These relations may be any of the four primary relations or any combinations of them.	Relations between the qualities of objects of our knowledge, or classes of objects. these qualities being made known to us by the sensations or ideas which they produce in our minds.	Relations of any of the four primary kinds or any combinations of them between the figure, size, shape, motion, duration, number, and so on, of objects, classes or systems which are external to one another.	Relations between external objects or systems with reference to qualities made known by sense, moral or aesthetical qualities, characters, habits, conditions and any other characteristics of objects of knowledge which may be appropriately called qualitative.

We shall give illustrations of these great classes of relations.

#### I. Internal Quantitative Relations.

When we construct a geometrical figure, as that of the fifth or the forty-seventh proposition of the first book of Euclid, we constitute a unity, and the subsequent demonstration is a comparison of the different internal parts in respect of their magnitude, and the inferences which result from that comparison. Similarly, many of the propositions of geometry consist of a



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combination of predications regarding the internal quantitative relations of different kinds of figures.

The astronomer who studies the motions of the different bodies belonging to the solar system is engaged with internal quantitative relations. The solar system as a whole constitutes a unity, the elements of which are the sizes, masses, distances, orbits, velocities, and so on, of the various bodies which revolve around the sun or the primary planets, and of the central luminary.

The mechanical engineer is similarly occupied when he arranges the figure, strength, motion, position, and so on, of mechanical structures, as houses, bridges, or machines. Comparative anatomists are able to complete the skeletons of animals, having given them certain of the bones. This ability is the result of a careful study of the internal quantitative relations of the bodies of animals.

### *II. Internal Qualitative Relations.*

The qualities of single objects of sense often require to be studied and compared in the interests of science. The chemist in his analysis of the various organic and inorganic substances which come under his notice is engaged in the study of internal qualitative relations. The process of classification involves a careful examination and comparison of the internal qualities of bodies or things classified. The composition and criticism of the productions of the poet, musician, statuary, and painter, consist chiefly of the arrangement and examination of internal qualitative relations. The same relations are the objects of study when we examine the characteristics of a man, of a nation, of a government, of a religious system, of a systematic body of doctrine of any kind, of an oration, in short of any of the vast variety of things known to us which are characterised by internal differences of quality or powers of exciting ideas.

### *III. External Quantitative Relations.*

In classification, when the extension or quantity of one class is compared with that of another, we are dealing with external quantitative relations. Many geometrical propositions are concerned with these relations. Comparisons of the weights, masses, figures, proportions, velocities, numbers, and so on, of distinct bodies not forming parts of a connected system, have for their objects external quantitative relations.

### *IV. External Qualitative Relations.*

The botanist, zoologist, and chemist, in comparing the different specimens of objects which comes within their respective spheres to study are concerned about external qualitative relations. So the ethnologist in comparing the characteristics of different races of men, the philologist in comparing the principles of different languages, the mythologist in bringing together the myths, legends and folk-lore of different countries, and the comparative economist



in studying together the different social and political institutions which have sprung up in different countries at different times. This study of the qualitative relations of things and systems has sprung into importance chiefly in modern times and is a very powerful method of scientific discovery. In the comparative study of physical characteristics, of moral and social habits, of myths, of religious beliefs, of languages, of institutions, of laws, and of historical events, consists the only available effectual method of discovering the beginnings and the principles of human progress.

Now all thought is concerned about some, or all or various combinations of the relations which we have just now classified; and the result of every comparison as well as the expression of every relation, is a *predication* or a *proposition*. In the exposition of our own views, we shall use the former term; in the criticism of current logical doctrine we shall use the latter. *Predication*, we may thus define as *the assertion that one object or element of our knowledge or conception stands, or does not stand, in some relation to one or more other objects or elements of knowledge or conception*. In order that we may clearly understand the nature and forms of predication we shall study a few examples of it. And we shall begin with the study of examples of the predication of internal relations.

When we say, *this rose is red*, we affirm an internal relation of simultaneity or co-existence. The redness is a quality found co-existing with all the other qualities which make up our knowledge of the flower. The uniform and inseparable co-existence of these qualities causes us to think of them all as making *one object*; and when we say *this rose*, we mean by it the *one object* made up of all the qualities. The first term of the above predication calls up an image before consciousness; the second term is one of the elements of the image singled out for the moment for particular attention; the predication affirms that the element forms a part of the whole object, or co-exists with the other element of it uniformly and inseparably.

*The horse has four legs*. This predication also affirms a certain internal relation of the object *horse*. The first term of the relation denotes a particular object composed of many parts and qualities. The second term of the relation expresses particular elements or parts of the whole object. The predication affirms a relation of co-existence of that regular and inseparable kind which constitutes the co-existing qualities an *individual*.

All predications which we make regarding the internal constitution of objects are of the same nature as the above, and have about the same significance. The *form* of the predication is a matter of comparative indifference, as we are now engaged in the



study of *thoughts* not of *words*. The same relation is expressed by all the following forms :—The rose *is* red ; the horse *has* four legs ; the house *consists of* six rooms ; England *contains* Middlesex ; the lion *is possessed of* a shaggy mane ; the solar system *comprehends* the sun, planets and satellites. And in all these cases the first term of the predication denotes a whole object, and the second term expresses some quality, part, or element of the object.

Not only may we predicate internal relations of material objects and systems of objects, but also of mental and social phenomena. The following are examples of such predications :—A moral judgment consists of intellectual and sentimental elements ; the family is composed of a husband, wife, and children ; the Government of England includes the Sovereign, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. The meaning of the predication in all these cases is the same as before.

There are other predications of relations which may, perhaps, be called internal, but which should be distinguished from the above. These are predications of *intransitive actions*. We may give as examples of these :—The dog barks ; fire burns ; the sun shines ; the river runs ; the wheel turns, and so on. In all these predications, and such as these, there is involved the idea of some thing *proceeding from* the first term of the relation. *The dog barks* means a certain sound proceeds from the dog. *Fire burns*, means that a certain sensation is experienced after contact with fire. *The river runs*, means that a body of water occupies different places at successive times. *The wheel turns*, means that the different parts of the wheel successively occupy different positions. The first term of each of these predications denotes some object ; the second term implies some sensation or action ; and the predication affirms a relation of *succession* between the co-existing qualities of the object and the sensation or action predicated.

We now proceed to the examination of external relations of objects as affirmed or denied in predications, and, for the sake of convenience, shall consider indiscriminately quantitative and qualitative relations. And first amongst these we have relations of difference. A relation of difference, we have seen, is absolutely necessary to enable us to distinguish one object from another. If two objects are *exactly alike* in quality they must, at least, have different *spatial positions* to be distinguishable. Relations of difference are usually expressed by the comparative degree of the adjective which expresses the quality with reference to which two objects are compared. The following are examples :—Red *is brighter than* green. Lead *is heavier than* wood. The sun *is larger than* any of its planets. The conceptions of "Paradise Lost" *are more sublime than* those of "The Deserted Village."



A child *is not so strong as* a man. A greyhound *can run faster than* a bull-dog. The scenes of heaven *are more glorious than* can be expressed by language. The fruit of the pine apple *is not the same as* that of the orange tree. In all these cases, and in others which might be adduced, we see that the two terms of the predication are the two objects compared; and the predication asserts that a relation of difference, in some particular respect, exists between them. The words which we have italicised in the above examples *express the relation predicated* between the two terms; and it is manifest that it is of no consequence which term of the relation comes first in the predication. The substitution of the second term for the first would simply involve a slight change in the *expression*, but no change in the *thought*. *Red is brighter than green*, is in thought the same as *green is not so bright as red*. And so of all the others. Frequently we have to express a difference between two objects which consists in the fact that, along with a certain resemblance, the one possesses qualities which the other does not. For example, the bat differs from the mouse in that the former has membranous appendages answering the purpose of wings, while the latter has not. The zebra differs from the horse in having a regularly striped skin. The whale differs from the most of the mammals in being an aquatic animal. In such comparisons as these it is not easy to adopt such an expression as will show the difference predicated so clearly as in the former cases; but the *thought* is equally simple. There are two objects compared; they are found to differ in a certain respect; and the predication affirms that they do thus differ. And, as before, it is of no consequence which term of the relation comes first in the predication; the thought is the same whatever be the particular mode of expression.

Amongst the external relations of objects, both in respect of quantity and quality, that of resemblance is of great importance. It is in consequence of resemblance in certain respects that we classify objects together and constitute them a unity. It is in consequence of resemblance between objects that we draw inferences regarding them. We are not now concerned, however, with these uses of resemblance, but only with the nature and expression of the predication of resemblance. Let us study some examples:—

This line *is of the same length as* that. These triangles *are all equal-sided*. This piece of lead *weighs* two pounds. In the first and third of these examples there is a comparison of *two* objects, and a predication that they resemble one another; in the second the predication of resemblance has reference to *several* objects. When the terms related to one another in a predication of resemblance are common names, there is always involved a comparison of several objects. For example, when we say, *horses have four*



*feet*, we mean that all objects known by the term horse resemble one another in having four feet; here we predicate a relation of resemblance between all known or conceived individuals. And, as we said before, we imply that *each* horse has four feet—an internal relation of co-existence.

We often predicate resemblance between things which are not exactly alike, but yet sufficiently alike to be classified together. When we say *crimson is like scarlet*, we mean not that they are exactly alike, but that they are the *same kind* of colour, and thus distinguishable from blue or green. When we say that *the sheep resembles the deer*, we mean to predicate resemblance only in certain respects, and if we state our meaning fully we will particularise the points of resemblance. The most of the resemblances which are affirmed in predication are only partial; when we affirm a complete resemblance we call it an identity, an equality or some such name.

Although mental phenomena and material phenomena are thought to be entirely different in kind, yet they are frequently employed to illustrate one another. We speak of a *lofty thought*, thus implying a resemblance between the excellence of the thought and the altitude of some material object. We use *light* as a symbol of *truth*, or we say that *light resembles truth*, although there is in reality no resemblance whatever between them in themselves; but in their results there is a resemblance since the appearance of light and the imparting of truth are both productive of knowledge in the mind. The relation between a symbol and that which is symbolized, between a sign and that which is signified, is usually either a direct resemblance between the two things, or is accompanied by a resemblance amongst some of the circumstances or results connected with the two things. Sometimes, of course, this is not so, as in the case of the relation of a word to that which is denoted by it, where there is now often no resemblance, although there is reason to believe that originally the application of names was founded upon resemblance.

The relations of simultaneity and succession between mutually external objects are often the subjects of predication. As when we say:—*Milton was a contemporary of Cromwell*; *John and James were class-fellows*; *soldiers on parade keep step with one another*. Or when we say:—*Chaucer preceded Spenser*; *after the flash of lightning a loud peal of thunder was heard*; *a cause is always followed by its effect*. It will be observed that the same relation of simultaneity or succession may be expressed in many different ways; and so far as *thought* is concerned, it is of no consequence by what words the relation is indicated, provided only it be indicated clearly. It will be observed, too, that the



order in which the objects said to be related occur in the predication is immaterial. The sentence, *Chaucer preceded Spenser* is the same as *Spenser followed Chaucer*. The predication consists in asserting that a relation of succession exists between the two individuals, specifying which comes first. And, with reference to all the other examples, it will be admitted that the form of predication is unimportant, provided only that it be clearly expressed what objects are related to one another and what is the relation between them.

We have hitherto confined ourselves as closely as possible to simple relations of difference, resemblance, simultaneity and succession; but in the great majority of predications the relations predicated are more or less *complex*; and often the relations implied in a predication are more numerous than those which are expressed. We may give examples of such complex relations.

*The judges in session, having tried the prisoner, agreed to find him guilty.* In this complex predication many relations are expressed and implied. The judges *sit simultaneously* upon the bench,—a double relation of simultaneity (1) amongst the judges (2) between the judges and the bench. *Having tried the prisoner*, expresses a continuous process and implies a multitude of relations; it also indicates that the action next asserted *followed* the trial. *Agreed to find him guilty*; here is expressed a relation of agreement amongst the legal opinions of the judges, and a relation of difference between the action of the prisoner and some law.

*John struck the table.* In this short sentence there are implied several relations. John and the table are in point of time *simultaneous*, in point of space *contiguous*; and contiguity is itself the result of the combination of several relations. The *stroke* of John is an *action*, and therefore involves *succession*, viz., first the arm is raised; then it is gradually lowered, occupying successively different positions; and then it comes into contact with the table producing, probably, a sensation of sound and certainly one of touch. Thus this simple sentence predicates a complex series of relations between two objects, John and the table.

Many other examples might be given of complex relations being predicated between two or more objects; and it would be a useful exercise in the analysis of thought for the student to examine and separate the relations expressed or implied in the sentences which he reads. We think it will be found that *all relations* may ultimately be reduced to the four simple ones which we have described; and that all predications may be shown to consist of an assertion or denial, that one or more of these relations exists between two or more objects or elements of knowledge or conception.

We have now given and illustrated what we believe is a correct exposition of that most important act of thought which we call



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predication. It now remains for us, from the stand-point which we have endeavoured to establish, to take a view of the current logical doctrines regarding the proposition. These doctrines are found in all the smaller text-books of logic ; and they find a place also in many of the more elaborate expositions of logical science. Not, however in all, for we observe decided tendencies towards a departure from the traditional doctrine of the proposition in some modern writers of distinction. The leading features of the traditional doctrine are the following :—

Every proposition consists of *two terms* and the *copula*. The terms represent either concepts classes or individual things ; and the copula serves as the connecting link between them. The words which constitute the copula are *is* and *is not*, according as the one term is to be affirmed or denied of the other. The first of the two terms, that about which the assertion is made, is called the *subject* ; the second, that which is asserted or denied of the first, is called the *predicate*. The subject of universal propositions is said to be distributed, or applied to all the things denoted by it ; that of particular propositions is not. The predicate of negative propositions, being altogether denied of all the individuals denoted by the subject, is distributed ; that of affirmative propositions is not. The copula is simply the sign of the relation of the two terms to one another ; it must not indicate the actual objective existence of the relation or the things related, nor the time when the relation existed, nor the degree of certainty with which the assertion is made. All these accidental things must be included in the predicate. It is always possible, after limitations and changes in the predicate or copula, to *convert* propositions, that is, to put the predicate in place of the subject, and the subject in place of the predicate ; and this conversion, being rendered necessary by the laws of the *syllogism*, is an essential part of the doctrine of the proposition. These are the principal points in the doctrine of the proposition regarding which writers upon logic are agreed ; but there are some points about which they are not agreed. They are not agreed as to the *character* of the *predicate*, some maintaining that it may be either denotative or connotative, others that it is connotative only. Those who believe that it may be denotative are not agreed as to its *quantification*, some holding that its extent should be explicitly stated in the proposition, others that its quantity should be determined by the ordinary rules. They are not agreed as to the *meaning of the predication*, some holding that the subject and predicate are simply asserted to be two different names of the same thing ; some that the predicate consists of attributes asserted of the subject ; and some that a relation of mutual co-existence or mutual inclusion or exclusion or congruence or confliction between the two terms is



asserted. These differing views may be referred to in the following criticism ; but we shall give the most of our attention to the foregoing doctrines which are generally agreed upon. For the sake of clearness we divide the subject of our criticism into the following parts :—1. The terms of the proposition ; 2. The relation between these terms as expressed by the copula ; 3. The doctrine of distribution ; 4. The doctrine of conversion.

(1). In examining the terms of the proposition our principal aim will be to ascertain whether they correspond with the terms of predication. All predications, we have already shown, consist of the assertion or denial that one or more objects or elements of knowledge or conception holds some specified relation to one or more other objects or elements of knowledge or conception. All predications have, therefore, two terms related to one another, and the assertion of some relation existing between them. And we have to enquire whether the terms of the proposition, as described by logicians, are the same as the terms of the predications which we consciously make. In every proposition, put into logical form, the predicate must comprehend all the elements of time, mode and action, which are usually expressed by verbs and adjectives or adverbs. A few examples of propositions may form a good basis for our criticism.

*Horses are vertebrated.* In this predication we affirm that each of a class of individual things possesses a certain quality or rather a certain part called a vertebra. Two objects of thought are before consciousness, the image of a horse or horses and that of a vertebra ; and we affirm that the latter constitutes a part of the former. Thus we here assert an *internal* relation between the two terms ; and this internal relation is correctly expressed by the word *are*. Neither can there be any doubt that the terms of the proposition correspond to the terms of the conscious predication. But, suppose we modify the proposition, and assert that *horses belong to the class of vertebrata*, it appears manifest that the predication which we make is quite different from the former one. Instead of predicating an *internal* relation we now predicate an *external* one ; we assert that the class of horses are included in a much larger class of vertebrated animals. In the former proposition we do not think of any other animals except horses ; in this proposition we must think of other animals constituting a large class which includes horses. Now the scholastic doctrine of the proposition teaches that the predicate *vertebrated* is either connotative or denotative, and thus fails to distinguish between the two important kinds of predications above illustrated. This ambiguity in the meaning of the predicate in such propositions should not be recognised either in psychology or logic ; a predicate should mean either one thing or another,



and the mode of expressing it should indicate which meaning is intended to be conveyed.

Again, *the sun illuminates the earth*. In this predication we have in thought two objects which are the terms of the predication, and a certain relation existing between them, namely, that light proceeds from the first to the second and thus makes its surface visible to our eyes. This proposition when put into logical form becomes, *the sun is a-body-which-illuminates-the-earth*. There the subject is *the sun*, and the predicate is *a-body-which-illuminates-the-earth*, i.e., the sun again, along with its relation to the earth. Now we think that an appeal to consciousness will show clearly that the terms of this proposition, after being put into the logical mould, do not correspond to the terms of the predication which we consciously make. The two objects which we think of as related are, plainly, the sun and the earth, *not* the sun and a-body-which-illuminates-the-earth. And it should, therefore, appear that the so-called logical form of this proposition has no foundation in the facts of consciousness. *Gold is heavier than iron*. Here we have the image of two substances before consciousness, and we assert a certain relation between them, namely, that the one substance is heavier than the other. But according to scholastic doctrine, the predicate of the proposition is not *iron*, but *heavier-than-iron*. In this case also an appeal to consciousness will show that the second term of the predication, said to be in a certain relation to the first, does not correspond to the predicate of the logical proposition.

Many other propositions might be adduced which would show that in the majority of cases the terms of the logically-formed proposition do not correspond to the terms of predication which are thought of in consciousness as related to one another. We have seen and admitted that, when a proposition expresses an *internal* relation of an object or class to some of its constituent parts or elements, the scholastic proposition may be correct and adequate. But, when *external* relations are predicated between objects, the logical proposition is quite inadequate to their expression; the terms of the proposition do not correspond to the terms of the predicated relation.

(2.) We now consider the relation itself predicated between the objects or elements compared. Is this relation accurately expressed by the logical copula? According to logical doctrine the relations expressed by the copula are those of genus, species, difference, property, and accident; the predicate of a proposition may stand to the subject in any one of these relations. The two first of these are external relations; the remaining three are internal. Now it is manifest that these relations have all reference to the process of *classification*; and it appears equally manifest



that there are a multitude of other relations which form the subjects of predication that have no reference to classification whatever. When we say, for example, *lightning precedes thunder*, we do not mean to classify either lightning or thunder with any other phenomena whatever, nor have we in our mind any fact or process involved in classification. We do not mean that the fact of preceding thunder is a differentia or a property or an accident of lightning, or that that fact distinguishes lightning from any other phenomenon. We mean simply to assert that a certain phenomenon, lightning, usually or always, is observed, before another phenomenon, thunder, is heard. And this relation of antecedence or succession is certainly not expressed by the copula. Again, when we say, *elephants are quadrupeds*, these words properly express an *internal* relation between the animals spoken of, and the quality indicated by the predicate, the possession of four feet. But if this proposition is made to mean, *elephants belong to the class of four-footed animals*, we have an *external* relation asserted, and the copula is not adequate to its unambiguous expression. In the same way it might be shown that all the other external relations of difference, resemblance, co-existence and succession, and their various combinations, cannot be expressed by the copula. In fact, logicians do not pretend that they can, because they always consign the expression of these relations to the predicate, thus playing false with the phenomena of consciousness and producing monstrous forms of language. It appears then, that psychology offers no foundation for the doctrine that the copula is the only proper expression of the relation between the terms of predication; and it might also be shown that there is no foundation in language. In many languages which are unquestionably expressive of thought there is found no such abstract verb as our *is*. And, even in our language, the substantive verb requires to be divested of all its meaning before it is fitted for logical use. Thus, it comes to be but an empty symbol, which differs from the symbols of mathematics, in that while each one of them has a definite meaning and represents a relation in thought, it is introduced for the purpose of putting aside the relations thought of which it cannot express.

(3.) The doctrine of distribution is manifestly founded upon facts connected with classification. In the classes which we construct of organized individuals there are some qualities which are found in all the individuals denoted by the class-name; there are other qualities, called accidental, found in some individuals but not in others. We are able, then, to predicate that *all* the individuals of the class possess the former kind of qualities, but only that *some* of them possess the latter kind of qualities. Again, when we predicate an external relation of certain objects, as when



we say "birds belong to the class of oviparous animals," it is evident that we speak of *all* birds, but only of *some* oviparous animals; and in this case the first term of the predication is distributed, the second not. But if we say "birds do not belong to the class of quadrupeds," we speak of all birds and all quadrupeds, and assert that the one class is altogether excluded from the other. In this case both the terms of predication are distributed. Thus, when the first term of the relation denotes a class, we indicate its distribution by prefixing the words *all* or *some*. When the second term denotes a class of greater extent than the first, we naturally indicate by the form of the predication whether we speak of all or some of the individuals belonging to it; and at least the accurate expression of thought demands that the distribution of both the terms of the relation should be unambiguously expressed.

These principles of distribution, properly applicable only to terms which denote classes, are applied by logicians to all kinds of terms and all kinds of propositions. All universal propositions distribute their subject, while particulars do not. All negative propositions distribute their predicate, while affirmatives do not. Now, if we had not a particular system to maintain, it might appear plain to us that the principles of distribution cannot be without absurdity applied to anything which does not admit of distribution or non-distribution. If we say, for example, "the Duke of Wellington is a man," neither the first nor the second term of the predication is a class name as here used; and were it not that we import from the process of classification, ideas foreign to the subject in hand, we should never think of the distribution either of "the Duke of Wellington" or "a man." Logicians, however, must reduce every proposition to the normal form, and so they make this a universal affirmation and write it "all of the Duke of Wellington is one of the class—man."

Again, if we take a proposition expressive of an internal relation, we shall see that the rules of distribution are not applicable. In the proposition "roses are sweet-smelling," the first term of the predication may denote either all or some roses according to our opinion of their odour. But the second term "sweet-smelling" expresses a *quality* possessed by roses, and when we speak of a quality, we surely mean the whole of the quality, and it seems absurd to say that the name of the quality is either distributed or not distributed; if we do so we apply a distinction to it which is plainly not applicable.

This objection, however, is got over by changing the predicate and thus forming *another proposition*, thus:—"Roses are sweet-smelling flowers," meaning "roses belong to the class of sweet-smelling flowers." But it is surely objectionable, in order to get



a proposition into such a form that the rules of distribution may be applied to it, *to change the relation* predicated in it. This proposition in its first form asserts an *internal* relation to the second term of which the principles of distribution do not apply; and in order to bring it into such a form that the second term may be tested by the laws of distribution, it is changed so as to express an *external* relation. Surely a correct psychology offers no foundation for such a procedure.

It could be easily shown that the laws of distribution are inapplicable to many other kinds of propositions, of which we may give the following as examples:—The line A is equal to B; the sun is brighter than the moon; the dawn precedes the day; silver is not so valuable as gold; the Prince of Wales shot an elephant; stars bespangle the sky. In all these propositions relations are predicated between two or more objects, the relation being expressed with perfect clearness, and in none of them can we say, with any degree of appropriateness, that either term of the relation is distributed or non-distributed; the distinction is inapplicable and foreign to the subject.

Our conclusion, founded upon an examination of the meaning of propositions, may be thus stated. Only those terms which denote classes of things can be properly spoken of as being totally or partially distributed; the names of single qualities or objects should not be quantified; but wherever a class-name, admitting of quantification, should, for the sake of clearness have its quantity made known, we have a right to insist that its quantity should be explicitly stated. This conclusion is founded upon the great law of expression,—whatever is contained in thought should be accurately expressed in words; whatever is not contained in thought should not be expressed in words. We do not *think* of the quality affirmed in the predicate of a proposition as being applicable to many or few objects; we should not therefore quantify it. But where the subject or predicate is a class-name, wholly or partially distributed *in thought*, its distribution should be expressed *in language*.

(4.) We now come to the doctrine of conversion. For the sake of the transpositions of terms required by the syllogism, it is considered by logicians of importance, that all propositions should be convertible; and there are certain well-known laws laid down for their conversion. The laws of distribution receive their full importance only in connection with conversion; as the importance of the laws of conversion is seen only in relation to the syllogism. The great law of conversion is,—that no term should be distributed in the converted proposition, which was undistributed in the original one. And by the application of this law it is found that universal negative and particular negative



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propositions may be converted without any change of quantity or quality, that the universal affirmative can be converted by limiting the quantity of the predicate, and that the particular negative may be simply converted after changing its quality, that is, changing it into a particular affirmative by transferring the sign of negation from the copula to the predicate.

Now, if we examine predications as they are naturally expressed, there does not seem to be any objection to the order of the term, being changed provided there is a sufficient reason for the change. If we say "whales are included in the class mammals," we mean the same as "the class mammals includes whales." If we say "thunder succeeds lighting," we are understood no better than if we say "lightning precedes thunder." The predication "gold is heavier than silver," expresses the same relations as "silver is lighter than gold." The sentence "John strikes the table," is, as far as thought is concerned, exactly the same as "the table is struck by John." In short, if we express any relation in a predication, the laws of thought and language require nothing more than clearness and accuracy in the expression; and it is a matter of indifference which term of the relation comes first.

But, if we examine the conversions of *logically formed propositions*, we cannot so easily admit their legitimacy. The proposition "roses are red," becomes, in the hands of logicians, when converted, "some red things are roses." The simple sentence "thunder succeeds lightning" is metamorphosed into "a class of things succeeding lightning is thunder." The monstrous forms of language which require to be introduced for the purpose of converting the majority of logically moulded propositions appear to afford a strong reason for doubting the legitimacy of the process. But, as we have seen, the principal objection does not lie against transposing the terms of a predication, but rather against the changes to which naturally expressed predications must be subjected, in order to bring them into the so-called logical form.

Having examined the principal features of the scholastic doctrine of the proposition, we may sum up our results. Propositions concerned about classification, are wrongly taken to be the type of all propositions; and all other kinds of propositions are forced into the form naturally assumed by them. The terms of the logical proposition do not, in the majority of cases, correspond with the objects whose relation is predicated in thought. The copula is incapable of expressing the most of relations, and consequently the words expressive of relations are usually relegated to the predicate, this being inconsistent with the facts of thought. The laws of distribution, founded upon facts of classification, are



applied where there is no reference to classification, and where they are consequently inapplicable. And finally the simple process of changing the order of the terms of a relation, when applied to the terms of a proposition forced into the logical form, produces results quite opposed to the facts of thought and the forms of language.

In the preceding exposition and criticism, we have taken our stand upon the position that the psychologist and the logician ought to occupy themselves with the analysis and study of *thought* rather than of *expression*. The scholastic logicians concerned themselves too much with words, mere words; hence the word quibbling, the logomachies of mediæval times. We have inherited their logical system and still teach it in our colleges; and a useless system it is, interesting chiefly as a specimen of the ingenuity of men, who had nothing better to do than to invent puzzles. We hope that the time may soon come when a logic will be generally taught which will attempt to be a real and accurate analysis of thought worthy of the study of men, who wish to understand the working of their own minds in its higher operations, and who desire a method by which their practical researches after truth may be systematically guided.

## ART. VII.—ORIENTAL SCHOLARS.

**I**N a late number of this *Review* we attempted to give our readers an account of an International Congress of Orientalists held at London in September 1874: the first of the series was held at Paris in 1873: the third was proposed to be held this autumn at St. Petersburg, but for the present it has fallen through. We propose now to give some fuller particulars of the constituent members of such Congress, who are known generally under the name of *Oriental Savans*, or scholars, and also occupy now a very prominent position in the learned bodies of Europe.

It is necessary to contract the boundaries of a very large subject by excluding from our present notice the distinguished men, who have exclusively devoted themselves to the subjects of Oriental Geography, Ethnology, Archæology, Numismatics, Comparative Mythology, History and Religion. Each of these would require a chapter for themselves. The word "Orient" must be expanded, so as to include Egypt and North Africa, and to exclude any portion of Europe, Australia, and South Africa. Language, in all its developments of Philology proper, Phonology, Grammatography, Palæography, Comparative Philology (called also Glottology), comes into the scope of our notice—whether such language may be dead, extinct, or living; whether cultivated or left in savage freedom; whether committed to the safe custody of paper, linen, reeds, wood, metal, stone, or clay, or handed down orally from generation to generation without the shackles and the safe-guard of alphabetic, syllabic, or ideographic characters.

It is necessary to cast over the world of Oriental letters such a net of classification, as will embrace all the component parts in such harmonious order, as will commend itself to the judgment of the reader. The noble army of scholars has been recruited from many nationalities, the majority using the languages of England, France and Germany. We use our phrases with caution, as many scholars write in French, who are not so by nationality. Some have also ventured upon English, who do not belong to that nation. Latin was in former years, and is sometimes now, a vehicle of communication. In addition to the above named three great nationalities, foremost in every labour of science and art, we may note that students and scholars, some of very marked distinction, have been contributed by the United States of North America, the kingdoms of Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Spain, and Greece, the Empire of Russia, and the Vice-Royalties of India and Egypt.



Another grouping must be by subjects. We write for those who are familiar with the technical terminology of the new Science of Language. The regiment of Oriental scholars, made up of recruits from different nations, in the manner above described, is divided into certain companies, according to the family of languages to which their labours have been directed. Some scholars belong to two or more of these companies. Knowledge would advance with more certain steps if there were less special devotion to one subject, and a larger and more Catholic spirit in study: but we must take scholars like poets, as we find them, and be thankful. They are well described as the "rolling-stock" capital of the Knowledge Concern, just as libraries are the dead stock. The importance of these last is enormous.

Now these companies are as follows:—

I.—Aryanists—the term "Sanskritists" is too narrow. This company is the most numerous, the most learned, the most influential; but their tyranny in a linguistic sense has become insupportable. They were first in the field, and came into possession of a highly cultivated literary treasure, to which they have done the fullest justice; but they forget how small a portion of the world's surface was occupied by the speakers of Aryan languages, and that linguistic axioms and deductions are not of universal application.

II.—Semites, occupying a small but important field, with a method as rigorous, and an egoism as exclusive as their Aryan brethren, and without the same justification, as the poverty of their materials has disabled them as yet from arriving at any conclusion as to the archaic form of their own languages.

III.—Sinologists, occupying the great and insufficiently explored fields of China, Japan, and the Monosyllabic languages generally. The progress in this direction is watched with intense interest, as the great secret of the origin of language can here be traced back to the earliest dawn of linguistic expression, while in the Semite and Aryan families we drop the longest line and find no bottom. When we have interpreted the earliest sentence of Sanskrit or Hebrew, we still stand face to face with this great problem—how many centuries were required for the slow process of evolving this syntactical arrangement of words, and of rubbing, snipping, compounding and distorting these words, so as to become coins or symbols to represent the idea conveyed?

IV.—Egyptologists, occupying a narrow geographical kingdom, but one of the grandest triumphs of intellect that the world has ever seen. We scarcely know whether to be more proud of those ancient races, who in the first dawn of the human intellect invented and left on record those wonderful hieroglyphics, or of those gifted men, who, after two thousand years of extinction, have



restored them to life. To this class must be added, for convenience, those few scholars, who have turned their attention to the Berber Inscriptions of North Africa.

V.—Assyriologists, occupying the whole territory, not a very extensive one, in which Cuneiform Inscriptions have been found. There are upwards of seven varieties, and they belong to different families of language; but are for convenience classed together under a name, which is not sufficiently broad so as logically to include them all.

VI.—Turanians—this word is used under a protest, and only because its omission might, in the present state of recognised nomenclature, produce a confusion. The scholars, occupying so-called Turanian ground, are those, whose attention has been directed to Asiatic languages other than those which fall under the five preceding classes; these languages are, for the most part, agglutinative.

Before entering into details we must note, how difficult it is to obtain information, as to the state of progress of any particular branch; how imperfect are the arrangements to record the names of the workmen, the out-put of each year; how impossible it has been to bring labourers in the same field into communication with each other. There have been established for many years three learned societies, the Royal Asiatic Society of London, the Société Asiatique of Paris, the Morgenländische Gesellschaft of Leipzig; and latterly a fourth has been added, the Società Orientale of Florence. Annual Reports have been issued; but insufficient, unmethodical, and disappointing. Those of the French Society, written by M. J. Mohl and M. E. Renan, have been models of style, but very limited in scope, and nearly entirely restricted to notice of the work of Frenchmen. The ponderous reports by Professor Goske of Leipzig have fallen seven years in arrears, and attempt too much, and therefore produce no result. Enterprising publishers have from time to time put forth records, or reviews; but too prominent a place is assigned to their own publications, and no attempt made to include everything. Latterly a scheme has been started by the united agency of the four Societies so to divide the work geographically, as to secure the notice of every work, good or bad, that has come forth within the year. This may possibly lead hereafter to an international report of work done, prepared every year, marking the progress of each branch up to date.

The two great nationalities of England and France, were first the field, rival in arts, as well as arms. The possession of India the great advantage into the hands of England, and the proclivity of scholars of that country has been decidedly in an Aryan direction, led by the great Hindu Triad, Jones, Colebrooke and Wilkins.



On the other hand the closer connection of the French with the Levant, and latterly their connection with Algeria, have given them a bias towards Semitic studies; and they have also almost monopolised the Chinese field. There are names, which can only be pronounced with veneration, among the French pioneers; such as Champollion, De Sacy, Anquetil de Perron, and Eugene Burnouf; of whose early death it may be truly said, that we should indeed have known something had Burnouf lived to old age. In those days the ore lay near the surface, one fortunate scholar could skim all milk-pots, and spread a net to catch all fish; but with increase of knowledge has come a demand for more accuracy, and minuter subdivision of labour. The scholars of Germany came in next, and introduced system and method, and propounded laws to regulate all future progress. Thus a science was created, where formerly had existed only empirical discovery. Societies, professorial chairs, State institutions, sprang into existence. Political necessities helped the progress of knowledge, and on the confines of European Russia, in the town of Kazan, a University has sprung up with seventy professors, the object being to supply instruction in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Tartar, Mongol and Chinese, aided by the out-put of most prolific printing presses. Still further east, in India and China, a free press, numberless places of education, and no few literary societies or Anjumans, have had a marked effect. How different is the lot of students of the nineteenth century, who read printed works with settled texts, set out with all the luxury of punctuation and pagination, garnished with notes, supplemented by translations and vocabularies, and in the comfort of their own arm-chairs, compared with the hard lot of the labourers of the eighteenth century, who in dirty and ill-lighted libraries pored over ill-written, imperfect and unintelligible manuscripts, to which earthen vessels, however, were committed with impunity for many centuries, the priceless treasures of the East!

The blessed peace and liberty of England which has lasted for so many years, can only be estimated at their full value, when we consider for one moment the lot of other nations even in these latter days. During the war of 1870, professors and students were hurried to the field of battle from the calm of the lecture room, and we read of the progress of the campaign being reported home in Sanskrit Slokes by some unwilling combatant. On the other hand we read, that the occupation of the country by the enemy, and the siege and Commune of Paris, interrupted the serene course of Oriental study. The Council of the Société Asiatique met in fear and trembling—not for their own lives—but for their books and collections. The monthly number of their journal was stopped for a time, but the Savans were equal to the occasion, and each number has been made up to the full tale by the publica-



tion of accumulated material. During the siege the printing of Masaudi's "Prairies d'Or" was pushed on; Garcin de Tassy issued his annual Report on the languages of India from a village in Normandy, to which he had retired for a season. Some of the members of the Society were so discomposed, that they succumbed under the annoyance of the interruption of study: the usual official compliments were, however, paid to their memories. While the cannons were still firing, they remembered that some of De Sacy's best works were published in the midst of the horrors of 1793: they had not forgotten that Archimedes perished at the capture of Syracuse, while working out a problem. It is characteristic of the brave and sensational nation to have done as they did, and to have cared to record it.

The opening address of the first number of the "Annuario della Società Italiana per gli studii Orientali" gives us another peep behind the scenes in the history of a noble nation. Signor Amari, a man of European reputation, who suffered as a patriot under the Bourbons, alluded to Italy as being in old time the first in the Oriental field, and first in the Renaissance of the fifteenth century in every intellectual field. But, smitten to death by the arrangements made at the peace of 1815, Italy lost its mental activity, and had no spirit to attend to the affairs of Asia and Africa, while the happier people of the other kingdoms of Europe had been daily adding to the domain of knowledge. Then came the struggle for independence, and at last freedom and unity in 1870, and leisure and national confidence, and a right to name their union Società Italiana. So in 1871 was started the idea, and in 1872 was ushered into the world the first annual Report.

Before we go further, let us gather some idea of the manner of men who make up our regiments, their inner life, and the characteristics of the genus *Savans*. One thing is clear, that it is a mere chance, that brings recruits to the ranks; no one has deliberately from his childhood selected the profession. There is scarcely an instance of the mantle of scholarship having fallen from the shoulders of the father to those of the son: on the contrary we have heard a scholar say, that he would never allow his children to adopt such a thankless walk of life, and as a rule the children grow up totally ignorant of, and unsympathetic in, the pursuits of their father. We have an instance of a great Sanskrit scholar with six sons, not one of whom had the grace or the curiosity to learn the character of the language which had made his father's name and fortune. It is very well for spoiled children of fortune such as Max Müller to eulogize the still life of the professor in a German University. When he had the opportunity, he cared not to exchange the fair home in



the Parks at Oxford, the abundant income, and the repeated dotations from the India Office, for the *Geist* and narrow resources of a chair in his Vaterland, though he talks of doing so now. It is all very well for Niebuhr and Bunsen in their splendid positions as diplomatic representatives of Prussia to write romantically of their regret for their abandoned professorial lecture rooms: it is patent, that the pursuit of Oriental learning is ill-requited, either by honour or by material reward. Talents, which might have achieved fame; industry, which might have rolled up wealth; sometimes an eloquence, which would hold the first place at the bar; a grasp of intellect, and power of calculation, which would have made the fortune of a merchant or a banker: a shrewdness, and a detective skill, which would have picked the locks of diplomacy:—such are some of the varied capacities of the intellect, which have been brought into the service of Oriental literature, where every step had to be won by strong power of reasoning united to undaunted perseverance.

Nor have instances of devotion of a life, abnegation of self, and singleness of purpose, the noble qualities which make up the perfect man, been wanting. We read how Alexander Castren, in delicate health, left his study, and travelled for years alone in his sledge through the snowy deserts of Siberia, coasted along the borders of the Polar Sea, lived for whole winters in caves of ice, or in the smoky huts of greasy Samoièds, then braved the sand-clouds of Mongolia, past the Baikal, and returned from the frontiers of China to his duties as Professor at Helsingfors—only to die after placing our knowledge of the so-called Turanian family on a sound basis. A few years ago died De Gabelenty: his name known only to a few, patient, methodical and undaunted by difficulties, he brought to bear on his studies the highest philological acumen. He never formed a final opinion of the nature of a language till he had analyzed a number of original texts. In many cases, when no grammars or lexicons existed, he made his own: he acquired the knowledge of subsidiary languages, merely to help him to the study of some outlandish tongue otherwise inaccessible. Thus he learnt Russian so as to get at Mongol and Altaic dialects; he attacked the Wogulian dialects through Magyar, and the Finnic through Swedish. He was the greatest linguist that the world ever knew—not only did he know eighty languages, thus far surpassing Mezzofanti—but he made that knowledge available for the highest philological purposes, while the latter did not enrich science with a single discovery or a single new idea, he could talk his languages, and that was all.

Other names occur to our recollection: some, like Schultz, have been veritable martyrs: others, like Norris, have been gifted with such modesty of character, that they have allowed others

to carry off the credit for work, to which they have contributed so much, that to impartial critics it seems to belong to them alone. When we think of such instances, we can bear with more patience the self-assertion, the flashy-trumpery book, reviewed by friendly hands—the proof sheets of the review being corrected by the author of the book; the flimsy lecture, the greasy compliments, the false reputation, gained by some sciolist, who has the art of stringing neatly together a few facts culled from the works of others, prates wisely, prints carefully, and binds handsomely.

The life of the French, or German *Savans*—and they alone are the true stock—is not much to be envied; they have generally limited incomes, and are to be found in the second or third floors of houses in large towns, where a small suite of rooms contains their family and their library. To one not accustomed to the life, there appears to be too close an atmosphere, and too much tobacco smoke; to visitors the *Savant* appears as a genial, enthusiastic man, a delightful companion, full of intelligence: perhaps a little too much oil and vinegar in his conversation according as the name of a friend, or a rival, comes on the tapis. His is a hard life, much rising up early, and going late to rest, daily disappointments or mortifications, and midnight toil. The work of the compiler of a dictionary is enough to drive a man mad, and it has come to our notice, that after the completion of a fourteen years' work, and the correction of the last proof-sheet, the intellect of an unhappy compiler lost its balance from sheer want of the food to which it had become habituated. Then, as might be expected, eyes grow prematurely weak, the health fails, the memory fails; the right hand loses its cunning, early death interrupts the work, as in the case of Burnouf and Deutsch. Champollion is said to have contracted some peculiar disease in the tombs of Egypt: the stooping back, the scholarly bend, the pallid abstracted countenance, mark the book-worm who can take no interest in any branch of the subject but his own—a form of selfishness has swallowed up everything, and he sees, as it were, with a single eye.

The characters of the men vary: some plod on, and are diffident, and doubt to the last—but *their doubting convinces others*. Some are unduly modest; some so conceited, that they describe the outer world by a negation, calling them “Nicht Arabisch” or “Nicht Sanskrit,” dividing the human race into *Savans*, or non-*Savans*. Some are too daring, using the divining rod too freely, dashing off a hundred suggestions, and conflicting interpretations of the same inscriptions, so as to generate a feeling of distrust in spite of their profound knowledge. Some are so presumptuous, that unsupported by long study or tested knowledge, they are sure of themselves, resent contradiction or suspended judgment on their theories, lavish abuse on those who venture to differ,



consider a critique to be good only on condition that it agrees with their views, and denounce the writer as ignorant who has an opinion of his own: such a writer expresses undue confidence in his own ideas, all the stronger, because he possesses the whole article himself, not one single person taking a share, except his much injured, and much suffering, wife, who like the consort of the Prophet Mahomet, allows herself to be convinced for the sake of the peace of the house:—of all phases this is the most contemptible.

The wife of the scholar often sits by his side, sharing his narrow quarters for a quarter of a century, and, while he is picking the most intricate locks, and solving the most difficult puzzles, that an extinct language can supply, she knows nothing about it from the first to the last, or at least understands nothing. She listens to his abuse of his fellow-labourers; she is present while he talks with his friends; she hears his mutterings in his sleep; she knows his last work by the look of it on the shelves, but often that is all, and it is as well: if she had unusual intelligence she might possibly differ: if she had none, as is most probably the case, nothing could make her understand the subtle points at issue, which it requires a special education to approach. And there is another feature of the life of the scholar: the practiser of the Law goes out in the morning to his work, and for all that his wife knows, may spend his day in the grossest immoralities, but he returns home at the usual hour fresh, and with an aroma of the outer world, to cheer his home: the Doctor is in and out at all hours; and so on with other professions; but the student and scholar has his workshop in his home, and has no occasion to go forth and mix among his fellows, except on the occasions of giving a Lecture as professor, or the meeting of a learned society, or a visit to his Publisher—if he has faith in his stars, he may say to himself, with Telemachus—(Odyss. I. 302).

*αλκιμος εσσ'ινα τις σε και οψιγονων ευ ειπη*

And in very deed his name may hereafter be pronounced with reverence like these of Champollion, Burnouf, Colebrooke and Horace Wilson, or with a laugh like that of——, or with a sigh like that of Goldstücker and Deutch, and many another, the lengthening of whose days would have made the world wiser.

Some die "opere in medio," with their papers and notes in confusion, and the table and desk of the scholar is generally in that state; the materials collected, but the arranging mind gone: on the last page of the incomplete work may be inscribed—"He fell asleep here" and "sulle pagine Cadde la stanca man." Stores of painfully accumulated knowledge are all wasted; pigeon-holes of memory stuffed with quotations and references are all

rendered useless:—a great reputation lost for ever, as the tired scholar lays some evening his head down on his great work, never to lift it up again from the leaf, on which his amanuensis finds it stiffened next morning, when he comes in to ask for more copy. To that scholar there are no more secrets as to the Origin of Language: he has got to the bottom of the Myth or the Reality of the Tower of Babel at last. On the tomb of Beer an inscription was carved in the Sinaitic characters, the secret of which he had unravelled,—a well deserved trophy to one who died a martyr. Some may have the good fortune of possessing good and capable sons, like deRongé, to whom it is a privilege to arrange and edit the manuscripts of their deceased parent. Some may, like Champollion, be great enough, and blessed enough to leave a school of devoted followers whose delight it has been, like the companions of Mahomet, to catch up every word of their great master: this is not generally the case: the premature death of an Oriental scholar means literary bankruptcy. In the obituary notice of a dead worker we too often read the sad announcement of “unfinished work found among his papers,” the “last portion of the treatise unwritten,” or we hear of voluminous collections of materials for a Dictionary quite useless except to the Master mind which, like the Prince in the Fairy tale, alone had the power of sorting the confused heap of commingled feathers. It would add to the bitterness of death, or cause the body of the dead man to turn in his coffin, to know, that the task of finishing his work was entrusted to some incapable blunderer, or some hated rival.

There is yet another class, to whom some may refuse the name of scholars, but whose scholarly tastes, and wide range of acquirement, place them as far above the mere scholar as a Jurist is above a Case-Lawyer. Such was the Duc de Luynes in France, and such are many retired Anglo-Indians, who after years of active employment have a sufficient range of culture to take an interest nearly, or entirely, all down the line of Oriental research. Such men are found listening with interest to Dr. Morris on the *Cursor Mundi*, to Dr. Martin Haug on the *Viragnamul* of the Parsees, to Dr. Edkins on his theories of old Chinese pronunciation, to Brugsch Bey on his *Papyri*; and last, not least, to Rawlinson, Oppert, and Schrader on the latest revelation in the Cuneiform. Such men are too wise to write books, and lose their peace of mind: they prefer reading, and forming an opinion on the books of others: perhaps their knowledge is too diluted, or spread like gold over too large a surface: but they form that intelligent public, which is a necessity to an author, and they are free from those enmities, those prejudices, that dead weight of envy, hatred and malice, which make grave Oriental scholars as sensi-



tive and irritable as concert singers and ballet dancers, and exhibit such deplorable absence of nobility of character.

"Oh! that mine enemy had written a book!" "How these *Savans* hate each other!" Such sentiments must rise up in the mind of the most casual observer: the "*Odium Literarium*" is something worse than the "*Odium Theologicum*." Fierce invectives in a Preface denounce a rival work: jealousy as to priority of discovery in an age, when needs be there must be often simultaneous arrival at the same result from the same data: general depreciation of every one: the title of charlatan liberally circulated: an extreme littleness of disposition: most illiberal, most unjust, and unworthy insinuations:—the spectacle would be saddening, were it not ridiculous.

"Ce n'est pas la paix, c'est la guerre que M. Halevy est venu apporter dans ce monde" was the remark of M. Renan in the last annual Report of the Société Asiatique with regard to this Free-lance; who, armed at all points by profound knowledge, but deficient in common sense, wages war single-handed against the company of Assyriologues, Egyptologues, and interpreters of Monumental Inscriptions generally.

The din of battle sounds on all sides: a remark made thirty years before is neither forgiven nor forgotten. Fierce quarrels have lasted a whole life, have destroyed the serenity of scientific meetings, have only been allayed by death, even if then, for to either of the combatants it would impair the bliss of Paradise to have the other man *there*. Pauthier and St Julien, the only two Frenchmen of their time, who were masters in Chinese, have managed to carry on their life-long war "*outré le tombe*" by leaving for posthumous publication, discordant translations of the same work. In one celebrated seat of English learning the only two men, who have knowledge of the great Aryan master-language, refuse to hold any intercourse with each other. Still the volumes of the greatest enemies, the most unkindly rivals, rest peacefully side by side on the shelves of the student, who is able to utilise the great good that can be extracted from both, and laugh at his ease at the follies of the wise, the weaknesses of the strong.

As a rule the centre fight is betwixt the armies of France and Germany, with the English army looking on. Sedan and the occupation of Paris leave their traces even in Oriental literature. Like the head of Charles I. in Uncle Dick's work, contemporary politics will crop up at most unexpected opportunities. While discussing the wars of Assyria and Babylon, 800 B. C., M. Lenormant descends to the humiliating littleness of dragging in the ingratitude of the French Chamber to M. Thiers, with reference to one of the campaigns of Sargon. As in the Homeric wars, so throughout the whole field of Oriental research, there are desperate hand-to-hand

fights going on ; and by a strange attraction, or repulsion, we find generally a Frenchman on one side, and a German on the other. The duel is sometimes triangular, or even quadrangular. Fire is no doubt struck out of the weapons of the combatants, and the gold of truth is wrought out, and refined in the furnace of controversy ;—and so far the world is a gainer. Gradually, gradually, certain great truths work themselves beyond the arena of dispute—they are removed beyond the debateable ground : no one would now-a-days question the classification of Bopp, the law of Grimm, the hieroglyphic interpretation of Champollion, the translations from the Cuneiform of the great company of Assyriologues ; but impudent frauds, and foolish theories, and down-right forgeries, do sometimes crop up, and have to be coughed down, or laughed down, or trampled down till they are put aside and forgotten. Other great questions, such as the nature of the Proto-Babylonian language by whatever name known, the proper principles of Vedic interpretation, the proper translation of certain inscriptions, Himyaritic, Berber, Punic, Cypriote, Etruscan, Lycian, are still the subject of vehement, shifting, and bitter, controversy.

It must not be supposed, that the feeling of the general body of scholars and authors does not revolt and protest against the puerile license of recrimination and abuse in which great men have indulged against their literary adversaries. More than once in the report of the Société Asiatique of Paris, the subject has been noticed with regret and reproof : authors seem hardened to it, but the outside world regards with feelings of disgust the exhibitions of petulance. The saddest feature is, that greatest scholars have been the greatest offenders against the laws of good feeling and good taste ; and the Editor of the *Revista Italiana* in commenting on the discreditable controversies betwixt Weber, Whitney, and Max Müller, remarks that these scholars, after having accomplished work worthy of giants, commence to prick each other with pins, as if they were dwarfs and buffoons—they forget Niebuhr's noble advice to scholars : “ If in laying down our pen we cannot say that we have knowingly written nothing that is not true ; “ if without deceiving ourselves or others, we have not presented “ our most odious opponents only in such a light that we could “ justify it on our death-beds, study and literature serve only to “ make us unrighteous and sinful.” And we fear very much that such is the case.

It is difficult to say to which of the three great nations the palm must be awarded of the greatest violation of good manners. We have already alluded to the really disgraceful controversies of the great French Sinologues, but what shall be said of the abuse of the English language made by Max Müller and his great American rival, which so much diminishes the value, and certainly



the beauty, of their latest works? The late Sanskritist, Goldstücker, in one of his greatest works, has allowed himself a license of abuse, quite unwarranted by the abstract nature of the subject, regarding which there is ample room for a variety of opinion.

We return now to a detail of the constituent parts of each company. A large and important portion of the Aryan, or Indo-European family, does not come within the scope of this notice: two branches only of the family belong to Asia, the Indian and the Iranian. They were closely united, and held together long after the other branches had left their original home, and migrated to the West, where they occupied the whole of Europe in successive waves of colonization. The Indian branch is represented by the magnificent Sanskrit; the descendants from Sanskrit in the first generation, known by the names of Prakrit and Pali; and the descendants in the second generation, known by the name of the Aryan Vernaculars of India and Ceylon, *viz.*, Hindi, with its congener Hindustani, Punjabi, Bengali, Uriya, Marathi, Sindhi, Gujarati and Singalese. The study of Sanskrit is so wide-spread, and so renowned, and Sanskritists are so numerous and well-known, that it will be sufficient to mention the most distinguished living scholars, leaving any minuter detail to another opportunity. A mere enumeration of names is unreadable. England is represented by Muir, Monier Williams, Cowell, Griffith, Johnson, Burnell, Boyd, and Gough. France is represented by Mohl, Pavie, Foncaux, Breal, Oppert, Garrey. Italy is represented by Gaspar Gorresio. Germany has produced a very host, Lassen, Benfey, Weber, Roth, Aufrecht, Bohtlingck, Brockhaus, Stenzler, Max Müller, Haug, Spiegel, Pischel, Rost, Kielhorn, Buhler, Eggeling, Thibaud, Gildermeister, and Hofer. The United States of America are represented by two excellent scholars, Whitney and Hall. The Minor States of Europe are represented by Westergaard from Denmark, and Kem from Holland. India has worthy representatives in Iswara Chandra Vidyasagara, Bhandakar, Krishna Mohun Banerjea, Taranaka Tarka Vachaspati, Shankur Pandorung, Jitauunda Vidyasagara, and others for whom we have no space.

Passing on to the descendants of Sanskrit, we find a fresh cluster of scholars. Pali has been illustrated by Childers, Kuhn, Senast, Fausboll, Feer, Minayeff, D'Alwys, Rhys David, Sir Mutu Comara Swami, Weber, Westergaard; and Prakrit by Cowell, Hoeffler, Lassen, and Pischel.

The Aryan Vernaculars of India and Ceylon have been worked by a very host, of whom the most conspicuous living members are Garçin de Tassy, Beames, Trumpp, Platts, Dowson, Hall, Eastwick, Monier Williams, Etherington, Max Müller. In this branch we are perplexed by the number of names, and the difficulty of making a selection, which is necessary: it must be recol-

lected that many names ought to appear over and over again, as belonging to several families, and several branches. Our remarks must necessarily be incomplete.

The second branch of the Asiatic portion of the Aryan Family is the Iranic, of far less importance and notoriety than its Indian sister. The monuments of this family have come down to us in the form of inscriptions on stone, which are the actual originals, and of manuscripts which may be copies of copies in a long succession, and of uncertain date, and open to great suspicion of alteration. The earliest form of the language may be called "Avestan," or "old Bactrian," or by the generally received, though incorrect term of "Zend." Descended from these in the first generation we have another language of uncertain nomenclature called Pehlavi, or Pazend or Huyvaresb, and the celebrated language of Persian. The language of the Afghans called the Pushtu, and that of the Balochis is asserted by some, and denied by others of less authority, to be of the same branch of the Aryan family.

The elder form of this branch has been worked by Anquetel de Perron, Burnouf, Raske, Martin Haug, Spiegel, Jamasji, Lenormant, West, Andreas, Westergaard, Olshausen, Longperier, Mordtman, Dorn, Weber and Lassen.

Persian is represented by many distinguished scholars:—Vullers, Zotenbrug, Barbier de Meynard, Chodyko, Ouseley, Blochmann, Mohl, and a large number beside.

Pushtu has been illustrated by Trumpp, Raverty, Bellew, and Dorn.

With the exception of Persian, a living vernacular, and the early Persian of the Shahnamah, free from Arabic admixture, all the rest that is known of this branch is the absolute creation of the present generation, being the result of the brilliant resuscitation of the language of the Avestan by Burnouf, and the discovery of the key of the Persian cuneiform inscriptions by Grotefend.

Next in order to the Aryanists stand the Semites, with their three languages of the first rank, closely allied to each other, and maintaining a kind of chronological sequence, Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, the vehicles of the dogmatic writings of the Jew, Christian, and Muhammadan. It is an astonishing fact, that no Vernacular languages should have been generated in this family, though its vocabulary has been so largely used to enrich the languages of other families, such as the Persian, the vernaculars of India, and the Turkish. To this family must be credited the scanty relics of the Phoenician, the Samaritan, the Moabite, the Punic, the Himyaritic dialects, and the languages of Abyssinia ancient and modern. A numerous and influential body of scholars have devoted themselves to the boundless treasures of this



family. The study of Hebrew has for centuries been an important portion of European study, and in late years the study of Syriac and Arabic has received a large development. It is hopeless to approach even any certainty in forming such a catalogue. We name at random, Noldeke, Neubauer, Ewald, Pusey, Renan, Cull, Delitz, Fleischer, Movers, Palmer, Wright, De Goeje, Dozy, Sprenger, De Slane, Gayangos, and Nutt. Possibly we may be unconsciously omitting some of the greatest scholars, and we must beg that the above be taken only as a sample.

Extraordinary progress has been made on every side of the subject: texts, translations, commentaries, grammars, and dictionaries have been published in profuse abundance. The discovery of the Semitic "Assyrian" has let in a new light on the subject, by introducing a language perhaps earlier than, certainly contemporary with, Hebrew, and closely allied to it. At the same time the collection of sporadic inscriptions in every part of the Semitic country has exercised the ingenuity, and sharpened the polemical appetite of rival schools, while they supplied solid additions to linguistic knowledge. The disinterred palaces of Nineveh, the Moabite Stone, the Himyaritic inscriptions of Arabia, the scratchings on the Rocks of the Sinaitic Peninsula, remnants of old Tyre and Carthage, have placed original documents in the hands of the scholar, by which the manuscripts, which are all comparatively modern, can be checked.

Fatigued with the glories, embarrassed with the wealth, stunned by the noise, and rather put out of thoughts by the pride of the Aryan and Semitic scholars, we fly with quiet satisfaction to the domain of the Sinologues; not that we shall necessarily find peace there, but we find a study in the comparative freshness of youth, great hope for the future, satisfaction with the results of the present generation. The subject of the progress of Chinese research is one worthy of special and separate illustration, and the sketch should include the whole of the monosyllabic Family. Among the scholars, who have widened our knowledge, and from many of whom we expect much still, we may mention Legge, Edkins, Medhurst, Alcock, Harvey de St Denys, Leon de Rosny, Summers, Wade, Williams, Aston and others.

The Egyptologists occupy a ground of transcendent interest; and, though much has been done, they have work sufficient to employ the scholars of this and the next generation, in interpreting the material with which all the Museums of Europe are crowded. A strong light now blazes on Egypt: excavations are being made under orders of the Khedive, who has two accomplished scholars, Brugsch Bey, a German, and Mariette Bey, a Frenchman, in his employ. The astounding historical results of this study attract an attention, which will not be relaxed; and no



difficulties of access can keep back the curious, and no religious prejudices stand in way of research. Among the great names in the world of hieroglyphics are Lepsius, Chabas, Maspero, Ebers, Birch, Le Page Renouf, Eisenlohr, Goodwin, Cook, Pierret, Lieblein, Brugsch, and Mariette.

The subject is too large, too fascinating, to be disposed of in a few lines in the midst of a survey of the whole linguistic world; we hope to return to it at some future time. Attached to this company, more by geographical than by linguistic considerations, is the Berber language of North Africa. From the starting point of their province, of Algeria the French scholars have made good use of their opportunities of research into the Chamitic dialects of North Africa, by whatever name known. All that has been found is of the nature of inscriptions, which very much exercise the ingenuity of the palæographical *Savant*.

Under the head of Assyriologues are, as was stated above, illogically grouped all those who have consecrated their time and talents to the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia. The Assyrian monuments are the most numerous, and occupy a middle place as regards time, betwixt the Proto-Babylonian (called also Accadian and Sumerian) who invented the system of ideographs stamped by a wedge-shaped stylus on soft clay, and the lordly Achæmenides, who wrote their decrees, which alter not, on the rock of Bisutur, or the palace of Persepolis, or the tomb of Cyrus at Murghab in the latest fashion of these characters, worn down into the form of an alphabet. We trust to return to this subject also at a future date. Year after year we depute skilled searchers to bring home further treasures, and we know not what new discoveries and surprises may be in store for us. Up to the present moment it is considered that there are the following separate cuneiform systems: Proto-Babylonian ideographs in a Turanian language: Assyrian syllabaries in a Semitic dialect, in which also are the inscriptions at Van in Armenia: of this there is an older, and a more modern variety. On the rock of Bisutur is the first tablet; and on the ruins in Persia Proper, are the Persian alphabetic cuneiforms in an Aryan language. In the second tablet of the rock of Bisutur, in Susiana, are inscriptions in a syllabic character and a Turanian language. It is necessary to state this to show that there is, as it were, a little world represented in three distinct families of languages, three distinct systems of writing, the Ideographic, Syllabic, and Alphabetic, and at least seven distinct systems of characters, though to the outer world known under the general term of cuneiform. The science is, therefore, in its vigorous youth: materials already collected are unexhausted: uncollected materials exist beyond calculation, but entirely of the



character of inscriptions on stone, metal, and baked earth. Among the scholars devoted to this branch, we may mention at random, Rawlinson, G. Smith, Sayce, Fox Talbot, Geldart, Oppert, Menaut, Lenormant, Schrader, Lassen, Westergaard, Olshausen and Delitzsch.

The last separate field is the so-called Turanian: and of this great receptacle for unclassified languages we can lop off, as far as our subject is concerned, all that lies beyond the limits of Asia. A further classification can be made by dividing the remnant into North and South: of the South the great Dravidian family exists entirely in British India: of the family, as a whole, Caldwell is the greatest and, perhaps, sole representative: the names of Gundert and Burnell are deserving of mention. In the South subdivision are also the Kolarian family of Central India, and that great cluster of languages on the eastern confines of British India, including the Himalayan mountains, the valley of the Brahmaputra, British Burmah, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. A great harvest awaits the labourers in this quarter; and it is not creditable that so little should have been done, and such little system in what has been done. In the last ten years great activity has been displayed, and numerous works published by authors not yet recognised as scholars, though valued as pioneers. It would be a mere registering of unknown names, to give a list; but some names have already achieved a European reputation in this field—and we note among them Dr. Hunter, Brian Hodgson, Max Müller, Judson and Mason, for the languages within British India—and for the Malay-speaking regions Vander Tuck, de Groot, Roorda, Van Hoeffell, as the Dutch have very much the monopoly of this language.

But the names we have given are those of the living scholars only: time and space would fail us if we would attempt to speak of the dead—the mighty dead—resting from their labours, of each of whom it may with truth be said, that “though dead he still speaketh.” They have gone beyond the tribunal of human praise or blame, but left their works behind. How grand and knightly do the figures of Champollion and Burnouf stand out amidst the haze of the past, like Raphael among painters, superior even to the envy of their contemporaries. When Burnouf fell, not only were lost to science the further revelations which that splendid and trained genius would have made, but the principal fire was extinguished, from which the youth of that generation, the scholars of the next, used to gather their inspiration. We think with reverence of the schools of Sylvestre de Sacy and Horace Hayman Wilson. Knowledge has gone far beyond the high water level of their time; but the novelty of the study, the great variety of their attainments, surrounded them at that



time with a dignity, and after the lapse of years, with a halo, which is now unattainable. Every scholar, every successive generation, owes a debt of gratitude to the great discoverers, or the mighty pioneers, such as Grotefend, Champollion, Burnouf, and Colebrooke. It may be that they were fortunate in being the first in the field, that the general knowledge was so fast advancing that the ripe fruit must soon have fallen. Such may be said of all inventors and discoverers. Many had failed before them. After ages at least do justice to patient and *truthful* scholars.

There are certain authors, who from time to time thrust themselves forward on a much enduring public, of a very different character. We mention one case, as the author has passed beyond the arena of criticism, and it is typical of others. A country clergyman, of a most narrow religious type, with no knowledge of language or palæography in the proper sense of these terms, nor well read in the works of others, presumes to rush into the field on three of the greatest subjects of Oriental investigation of the time, the Sinaitic Inscriptions, the Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and the Cuneiform Systems of Western Asia. This gentleman swept away, as with a feather broom, the labours of Champollion, Lipsius, Grotefend, Burnouf, Rawlinson, Beer, and Credner, and substituted a baseless theory of a primeval language and character, which he found in the Arabic dictionary; and to this one type he triumphantly reduced to his own satisfaction the above mentioned inscriptions, which have no one connecting link of date, or principle, or language. Such books can only be passed over by scholars in silence, but they do infinite mischief by misleading the general public and thus causing them to mistrust the researches of real scholars. The manner of treatment was so plausible, that it would be quoted and read by many, who would never be aware what downright nonsense it contained. And here we may add that treatises on such subjects must necessarily be two-fold: either for the benefit of other scholars, and therefore technical and in detail, or in a popular form: and it is on this point that so large a portion of praise is due to Professors Max Müller and Whitney, who have done more than any other scholars to popularize the subject, and give correct information in a readable and entertaining garb.

Modesty and self-distrust are two of the chief tokens of a great scholar. Those who know something, get into the light, and then know how very little that light is: those who know next to nothing are still in outer darkness and have not light enough to measure the extent of their own ignorance. And to do good work, there must have been good training in a good school of comparative philology: the greatest industry, the most fortunate opportunities, will not enable a scholar to dispense with this condition.



The works of some otherwise valuable scholars are marred by this deficiency: the absence of proper training, and a sufficient breadth of reading lets itself be unconsciously seen, like the pronunciation of a boy not educated at a great public school.

Luck and a good constitution, in war, and politics, at the bar, and every other profession must have some influence. Poor Rosen, poor Leyden, poor Deutch!—*tulit alter honores*: they succumbed early, having made the way easy for others. On the other hand Colebrooke and Horace Hayman Wilson, Benfey, Lipsius, Westergaard, Lassen and others have worked every day of a very long life, and the result has been prodigious. The aid of a friend in power, by putting forward a young man of ability, enables him to secure a position at a time of life, when he can cultivate his talents and secure a hearing. Without detracting from the great merits of Max Müller we may say, that he would probably not have risen so early to distinction but for the judicious assistance of Bunsen, who helped him down to the well, leaving no doubt some better men on the steps, waiting for some helping hand.

The true scholar must feel, that it is of the essence of his profession to be led occasionally into error. In the course of investigations, where there is so much guessing, so much hypothesis, so much strained analogy, there must be time lost in constructing and pulling down, in advancing, and retracing one's steps, in casting about with the diviner's rod, until at last the right vein is struck, the right nail is hit on the head, the right interpretation or deduction made. Each man should be to his own works the severest critic and censor: his own consciousness should gradually lead him to see his error, and, as perfectness and truth must be the object of all true research, to correct it. It must be trying to scholars, who have passed their maturity to come suddenly on such a new revelation as Bopp's Comparative Grammar, and to see so many of their castles of card swept to the ground; but it is one of the conditions of advancing knowledge to be liable to such great changes of fruit, and all epochs and all fields of inquiry have known them. It is wiser to accept the new truth, than to be left stranded, or impotently to contend against what is accepted by others upon grounds which cannot be gainsaid. Ask any of the great scholars mentioned a few lines back, who are now approaching, or have past, their seventieth year, how much they have had to unlearn, steps to take back, rolls of manuscript to put behind the fire, before they arrived at conclusions which satisfied themselves and others. No one can read Bunsen's works without wishing that he had lived a little longer, and enjoyed the advantage of the discoveries, of the advance down the line, made since his death.



Attention was drawn in the *Journal of the Société Asiatique* some thirty years ago, to the degree of attention and patronage extended by the Governments of France, England, Germany and Russia respectively, to the extension of Oriental studies and research. Though somewhat coloured with that amusing self-love, which compels a Frenchman to view everything through patriotic spectacles, still in the main the judgment expressed was discriminating and correct. Of course France had done more for Oriental science than any other country. Professorial chairs had been founded, books and manuscripts collected, expeditions undertaken to foreign countries; special types had been founded for the publication of Oriental works: the scholars themselves had been encouraged by honours, by pensions, by flattering distinctions; but whatever had been done, was confined to Paris, and a very limited circle in Paris: no portion of the general education of the people had been touched, no works were published in a popular form, no interest whatsoever was felt by the general public.

In England nothing is done by the State for Oriental literature, as in fact nothing is done for any branch of science: such matters are left to the disposal of associations and corporate bodies. The Universities are very rich, but they also do nothing at all; there are no proper Oriental chairs: the Sanskrit chair was the endowment of a private person. There are magnificent libraries, abundance of learned ease, but absolutely nothing is done. The public, however, do not neglect the subject. Large sums have been devoted to the Oriental Translation Fund and the Oriental Text Fund. Associations are formed, voyages are undertaken, missionary bodies are established, there is a countless out-turn of translations of the Holy Scriptures, dictionaries, grammars, and texts, all by the means of private subscriptions. Conspicuous above all had, in former days, been the great East India Company, which had been lavish in its patronage of Oriental literature. From the servants of that great Company has sprung up a constant crop of ripe scholars, who obtained their first taste for the subject at Haileybury or Addiscombe Colleges. All is changed now; there is no native army to supply new scholars; the Civil Service, as now recruited, may contain able men, but few Oriental scholars. The blank is already felt; a scant gleanings of perhaps four Oriental scholars is left in the united Civil Service of British India. The Secretary of State for India has not inherited the liberality with the power of his predecessors; and even in the last few months, an application made by the Royal Asiatic Society for assistance in preparing the all important "*Corpus Inscriptionum*" of India, has been met by a recommendation to undertake this truly Imperial work by the means of private associations.

What has Germany done? It has supplied the workmen: a



nation without colonies or commerce to absorb the flower of their youth, has supplied the raw material for forming Missionaries, *Savans*, Librarians, Editors, Lexicologists, Translators and Critics. A great number of small Universities and professorial chairs, a simple manner of life and a cheap system of education, have resulted in spreading Oriental knowledge over a much wider surface, and supplying a crop of well-grounded men to do the literary work of Europe. But, with some remarkable exceptions, such as Max Müller, Bopp, Lassen and others, whose names will occur to our readers, the tendency of German scholarship is to literary brick-making, rather than to literary architecture. The German Government have not been wanting in liberal assistance; expeditions have been despatched, such as that headed by Lipsius to Egypt: and magnificent additions made to Royal museums and libraries, sometimes, as in the case of the late Shapira Potteries, with more haste than judgment.

The smaller kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, Belgium and Holland have not been wanting, and especially the latter: but the Dutch colonies are managed on principles abandoned even in Japan. However, though conducted on low principles, the Government of Java is liberal to science. Italy, which was once the foremost, and whose existence was effaced from the catalogue of nations, has now assumed its place. Spain and Portugal are as stolid and ignorant as Turkey itself; and it is a sure mark of an ignorant people, that they take no thought to instruct others.

We come to the last and, perhaps the greatest, the Russian Empire. It has done its duty to science, whatever may have been its motive; but each adjacent country, that heard that the peculiarities of its language were being studied at St. Petersburg, must have felt a cold shudder, such as men are said to feel when the spots destined to be their graves are trodden upon; it must have occurred to them, that a rod was in pickle for them, and a deadly fascination must have come over them, as when a serpent is first spied by its prey. Thirty years ago, German scholars of repute were salaried to learn the languages of Armenia and Georgia; both countries have since been absorbed. A flank movement round the Caspian brings Russia in face of a great Muhammadan people, and simultaneously Professor Dorn publishes at St. Petersburg a grammar of the Pushtu language, though the legitimate interest of Russia in the Afghan people is not obvious. Further inquiry brings to notice the preparation of grammars of the Mandchu and Mongol languages: in fact, grammatical study is the advance-guard of conquest. Kazan has become a city of printing presses, but with a view to the administration of conquered provinces, a kind of military propaganda. As Rome sought to enclose the world in a spiritual net, so Russia seeks physical aggrandizement.



There is no public in Russia of any kind to appreciate such Oriental studies : they are but a portion of the rolling stock of the great railway of absorption.

We have alluded, in an earlier portion of this article, to the existence of learned societies. Let us consider more closely the "*raison d'être*" of such associations ; they are in fact the offspring of a kind of protestantism against the effeteness of existing institutions ; they play the part of prophets against the antiquated and sluggish priesthood ; they consist of selected members from a larger and more inert mass, endowed with a greater elasticity of combination, and a greater vigour of proceeding.

Twice in late years such associations have sprung into existence. First, at the time of the Renaissance, when the established schools were quite out of harmony with the aspirations and necessities of the time : then it was that the few enlightened associated themselves, and at length reformed education, and the Universities, and the conventional limits of knowledge ; and, having done their work, they ceased to exist. At this time the study of Greek and Latin authors was introduced ; and a long period followed, during which the work of classicizing Europe was slowly carried out.

In our days has come the second occasion—a new world has come into existence. *Ex Oriente Lux* ; we have found the existing institutions unequal to the burden, and unwilling to move onwards. From this cause have sprung into existence associations, which have gradually reached the whole mass. Slowly education, schools, and Universities are reforming themselves. Scholars, linked together, have made themselves heard. The existing learned Societies were all founded soon after the peace of 1815. There was then a general development of intellectual activity, and great interest in all things ancient exhibited by all classes. The East came in for its share ; and many men of great distinction and wealth joined Oriental Societies from general love of learning : not only London, but also Paris and other Continental cities felt the same movement. But as time went on, this influential class has died out, and no recruits have succeeded to the vacancies caused by death ; and, as the members of the societies have become more strictly Oriental scholars, the income and influence of the Associations have diminished : the real reason has been that the reform to effect which these institutions were formed, has been more or less effected. Notably a great portion of the original object, which the Royal Asiatic Society laid before themselves, has been undertaken by the Government of India, which has been roused to a sense of its responsibilities. But a work still remains, and it is this. Missing pages of history have to be written, and existing pages to be re-written under the light of subsequent discoveries. The depth of previous ignorance would be more descanted upon



did not real scholars feel how little even now was known. The real object of the movement, which now sways the intelligent of Europe, and which is the *raison d'être* of Oriental Societies, is to approach nearer to the mechanism of the human mind, to scatter the mists of fable, and worse than fable, the oft-repeated historic lie; to get at the real annals of the early world; to enrich moral and social Science with the experience of the grand nations who peopled Asia four thousand years ago: to feel to the bottom of the religious sentiments and philosophical groundwork which influenced men of like passions as ourselves at that remote period: to trace the origin, migration, and fall of races and to give a larger and firmer basis to the history of the world. When this work is done, the Societies may dissolve, and the longer series of their Journals—the contemporary chronicles of the unrolling of the great Palimpsest of the Past—may be discontinued.

The curtain has been gradually lifted up, that for the last twenty centuries has obscured the Oriental world. We now know secrets which the priests would not reveal to Herodotus, or Manetho, or Berosus; perhaps the recollection, and right understanding of them had fairly died out before their time. We can handle and read Papyri, which Moses could never have seen, as before his birth they had been deposited in the tomb of some Egyptian sage, which has only now been compelled to give up its treasure, held so many centuries in the mummified hand, or hidden away in the cerements.

Still knowledge comes slowly—slowly creeping on, always gaining a point, sometimes making an advance down the whole line, amidst a multitude of hypotheses, the din of controversies, and alas! no lack of shameless forgeries. And the result is the shaking to the foundation of every received date, the turning inside out of every accepted fact, the white-washing of some great historical characters, the lamp-blackening of others; the propounding of the Eponyme theory, the abuse of the Myth theory, the wide extension of the Legend theory, till absolutely nothing solid remains. In his transcendental scepticism we find M. Renan in his report of the Société Asiatique of 1873 treating with scorn any one, who ventured to talk of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as real characters, or who did not allude to Moses *with reserve*. A soberer author, though of the same school, talked of the possibility of there having been one hundred Adams, and therefore one hundred separate seed plots of language. The pavement of History quakes beneath us—we walk

per ignes

Suppositos cineri doloso.

We give up with a sigh, and a wrench of conscience, the Garden of Eden and the Biblical heroes of our infancy, and at the same



time we are requested to give implicit credence to new truths disinterred from a tomb, which has been sealed up for four thousand years. Archbishop Ussher and his theory of Chronology are placed out of court. Fifteen thousand years are required as the least possible interval betwixt Abraham and the Creation, which event is not easily dispensed with, though the Deluge shrinks up into a local flood. No wonder that an astonished Clergyman on one occasion rose to remind his hearers that the Society to which they belonged, and at which they listened to such astounding novelties, was one of *Biblical Archæology*.

What will be the feelings of the next generation, if they find themselves with no new worlds to conquer? Is it possible that they will think this generation slow, or diffident, or unduly conscientious, or without the power of gestation of theories and paradoxes? At any rate we of this generation have the better of our successors on some points. There can be no new Egyptian hieroglyphics to decipher, no new Assyrian palaces to disinter, no new China and Japan to discover. There can be no new Sanskrit grammars to study, no new sacred literatures, such as those which are enshrined in Pahlavi and Pali, to unfold: no new libraries to catalogue in Europe, no old ones in Asia or Africa to rifle: we have them on the hip there.

But let the over-confident pause for a moment in the midst of his egotistical presumption, and think what place his book will occupy in 1900. Will it exist at all, be read at all, or will it have found its way to the trunk-maker, or be reduced to more useful pulp, or kept in a dishonored existence? It is humbling, but salutary, to reflect that the merest schoolboy of Macaulay, the very baby in arms, will laugh some favourite theories to scorn, as being so stupidly wrong, when seen in the light of subsequent discoveries. But let a scholar do his work thoroughly, issue it modestly, and admit and correct his errors as they are pointed out, and he will hand down to Posterity a brick—a good brick, which will occupy a position in the wall for ever. Controversy within bounds is good, is indispensable.

“Il faut à de pareilles problèmes des esprits variés, opposés même, provenant d'écoles contraires, abordant la question avec des outils divers, et avec la résolution de ne céder à aucun préjugé :”

So wrote a deep thinker.

All scholars and authors would do well to reflect on the fierce light which in the next generation will fall upon them, and if their lives are prolonged, they may find that they have outlived their epoch, that knowledge has progressed to a stratum beyond their scene: that all their labours are incorporated and assimilated by some young author, who forgets to thank the writer, to whom



he is indebted for his teaching, though he does not forget to point out his inaccuracies. All that was true in his discoveries has become part of the general inheritance of acquired knowledge.

It has been justly remarked, that for many years less attention is paid by the English public at large to Oriental literature than has been paid on the Continent. The reason is obvious: we have to deal with the East practically, and this rubs off much of the romance that surrounds the subject in the vision of the untravelled scholar. Anglo-Indians know the Hindu Pandit as a dirty, half-naked fellow—with a deficiency of hair upon his head and a most offensive breath from over-indulgence in the betel-nut: we remember the Muhammadan Maulavi as a conceited illiberal personage with a turban of unusual proportion: to the untravelled foreigner a certain amount of sanctity and reverence has attached itself to the idea of the Indian sage. The flower of the youth of England throw themselves into the more exciting professions; and those who have obtained distinction as Oriental scholars, are generally not professors or schoolmasters, but the soldier, the civilian, the medical man, who in the midst of his proper avocations has indulged the bent of his genius. This gives a greater manliness and larger-heartedness to his views, though it diminishes his accuracy, and profoundness of knowledge. Moreover it saves him from the Scylla of the *Société d'Admiration Mutuelle*, which is the snare of some professorial cliques, and the Charybdis of Immortal Hatred, which is the bane of others. The practical bent of his mind saves him from devoting a life to a really useless work—a mere intellectual *tour de force*, such as M. Renan describes in the following biting sarcasm:—

Quel gout du travail il a fallu pour mener a terme une pareille œuvre de patience, qui ne peut avoir d'autre recompense, que le plaisir qu'on a trouvé de l'exécuter.

This is in the Report of the *Société Asiatique* for 1875: and again:—

Quelques personnes regrettent, que cet eminent philologue dépense en après critiques contre les travaux de ses confrères une part d'activité que pourrait être mieux employée.

The fact is that when science has become a profession, the means are sometimes mistaken for the object, and the real point is lost sight of. Comparative philology is after all, in the opinion of all properly constituted minds, only a means towards the solution of most important philosophical and historical questions. As we rejected the scholar with the one eye only, and protested against the tyranny of Sanskrit in the republic of letters, so we would wish to distinguish the grand philological architect from the mere maker of bricks. Technical philology and critical

power of details of grammar, are excellent things; but on one condition that they subserve to an inquiry into the history of the past, and a fuller knowledge of the progress of human intellect. To degrade linguistic science into a mere game of puzzles, a mere trial of strength in the way of resolving most points, is an act of sacrilege, something like playing at dice with the knuckle-bones of a saint. There have been botanists who have been deeply interested in counting the petals of a flower, and cared nothing for the perfume. Let us not hold them up as objects of imitation; nor fall into the opposite error of believing what every literary charlatan may please to propound, who asserts that he has made a great discovery, and that nothing was known before his coming.

The close of the nineteenth century will find us only at the door of the temple. It is idle, with our present knowledge, to discuss the origin of language, or even the affinity of languages to each other, until we have more full and sufficient data. We cannot as yet approximate the well-worked Semitic and Aryan families—and outside them are vast families of languages, systems of stars and asteroids, beyond the ken of our best linguistic telescopes. The men of the twentieth century will have this work before them, to utilize the material which we are diligently collecting. We look back with pity on the limited knowledge of the eighteenth century, because they knew little and did nothing. But the nineteenth century has gathered in an ample harvest from all quarters of the world; and from this point of view the Oriental scholars are deserving of reverence, as ants of great labour, who have been storing honey during many a long year for the benefit of an unknown race of philologists, who will be born to profit therefrom.



#### ART. VIII.—PATTANI (*PUTNEE*) TENURES.

THE inquiry into the origin of Indian institutions, must necessarily be attended with difficulty; and though results are sometimes obtained, they are always open to doubt. The researches even of distinguished Orientalists are now-a-days being weighed in the scales of criticism and are sometimes found wanting. But a first inquiry, however erroneous, has always its advantages, inasmuch as it calls forth criticism, and generates further and active research on the subject. The object of the present paper is to throw out some suggestions regarding the *possible, probable* we dare not say, origin and signification of the word *pattani* (putnee); as well as to give some particulars about the tenure which goes by that name. This, we believe, is the first time that this subject has been discussed; and, as a beginning, the inquiry must needs be very imperfect.

We begin by giving an extract from the definition of *pattani*, given by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson in his "Glossary of Indian Terms." "*Pattani*, more usually written *Patni* (Bengali পত্নী, পটনী),—a tenure by which the occupant holds of a zemindar "a portion of the zemindary in perpetuity, with the right of "hereditary succession, and of letting or selling the whole or part "as long as a stipulated rent is paid to the zemindar, who retains "the power of sale for arrears, and is entitled to a regulated fee, "or fine upon any transfer; the tenure created by an underletting "in the second degree is termed *Darpatni* (lease within lease), "and a third underletting is called *Sepatni* (from the Persian "se three). This description of sub-tenures originated in Burdwan, "being created by the Raja or zemindar; it has been sanctioned "and extended by regulation. The word *pattani* or *patni*, is not "found in any dictionary, and is differently explained by those "who use it. Mr. Harrington (Analysis, vol. iii p. 519), says, "it may be rendered 'settled or established,' which is very questionable. In the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut Reports, vol ii., "p. 99, *pattan* is said to be incorrectly interpreted 'dependant,' "whilst it really signifies "constituting"; but this is equally doubtful. As the term originated in Burdwan, it must be Bengali, "but its omission from the dictionaries leaves it uncertain whether "it should be written with the cerebral or dental *t*: if with the "former, it probably bears a relation to *patta* or *potta* (পট্টা) a "lease; if with the latter, to *pattana*, colonising: the former "seems the more likely." "*Pattana*," he says, "is a Sanskrit word, "and when used in Bengali, it means the first settling of a colony, "village or town." In Bengali, however, it also means, "the act of beginning; the laying of a foundation."

It would appear from the above, that Professor Wilson was not quite positive about the definition of this word; but he goes too far when he states that "its omission from the dictionaries leaves it uncertain whether it should be written with the cerebral or dental *t* (ট or ত);" for while admitting, and rightly, that the word must be Bengali, he seems to have forgotten that the best test for determining the correct spelling was to observe how the people among whom the word originated, namely, the Bengalis, spelt it, or how they pronounced it. To this it might be objected that the philological law of *phonetic decay* may operate in tending to soften down the cerebral *t* into the dental *t*, but there was scarcely any fear of that in this case, considering that the *t* in the word *patta* পাটা is still spelt and pronounced by the natives as a cerebral, while that in *pattani* invariably by the dental, even in the distorted spelling of the courts of justice. Under these circumstances we are inclined to think that the word is Bengali (being derived from the Sanskrit word पतन), that it has hardly any connection with the word *patta*, and that Professor Wilson's view that it is otherwise, is unsound. On the other hand its absence from dictionaries may be easily accounted for. Professor Wilson's "Glossary" appeared in 1854, when the light of European knowledge had only been beginning to illuminate Bengal when the cultivation of literature and other collateral arts on a reformed principle can be said to have only commenced under the fostering care of the British Government, and when even Sanskrit dictionaries on the model of modern European lexicons, giving the philology of each word were rare (there were only two or three at the most), far less Bengali dictionaries. So that it is scarcely surprising that Professor Wilson could not find the origin of this word given in any Bengali book.

Taking *pattan* (পতন) therefore as the original word, its derivation is obvious. Professor Wilson, Mr. Monier Williams, in their Sanskrit dictionaries, derive this word from the Sanskrit root *pat* (পত) to fall, and add the *kridanta* or verbal affix (ভনন) *tanan* (dropping the latter *n*.) This view is also taken by Professor Taranath Tarkavachaspati in his Sanskrit Dictionary, the "*Sabdastomamahānidhi*" (শব্দস্তোম মহানিধি). \* The derivation is simple enough, but the meaning assigned to the word, viz., "the first settling of a town or colony," is somewhat doubtful. The derivative meaning of the word *pattani* apparently is something which falls or is derived from another.

\*Some people try to derive the word from the Sanskrit root *pad* (পদ) with its affix *tanan* ভনন্ and assign as its meaning, "something to lay a foundation upon;" *ex. gr.* ভিত্তি

পতন, laying the foundation of a house. The explanation is doubtless plausible, but nevertheless open to question.



and a *pattani taluq*, a *taluq* which comes out of another, namely, out of a parent zemindary. Mr. Harrington's definition, "settled" or "established," is taken exception to by Professor Wilson himself; while, on the other hand, the doubtful meaning given in the decision of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut no way coincides with the one we have ventured to suggest.

This being so, we have only to inquire how the final *ī* (ঈ) came to be affixed to the word; and for this purpose it will be necessary to dwell briefly on the state of Bengali society at the time of the Permanent Settlement. Centuries of Moslem rule had, like the English rule of the present day, tended to produce a considerable change in the habits, customs and mode of living of the people of Bengal; the effects of which on their language are even now felt most heavily. Even until very lately the education of a gentleman's son was not deemed complete unless he had read some Persian books at least; so that, not to speak of the *Rubakáris* of the courts of justice, and the *pottahs* and *kabulyets* of zemindari sheristahs, &c., the very conversation of a respectable native in his own family circle was much interlarded with Persian words and phrases. Sanskrit was studied only by the learned few, especially those who wanted to make a living by it; and few as they were, their influence was little felt in a society, a considerable portion of the members of which were votaries of the Persian. The Sanskrit grammar, therefore, had little to do with regulating the current of the vernacular; and substantives and verbs were formed in the way which best suited the whims of the people. Those who knew how to read and write, being, as we have mentioned before, mostly Persian scholars, made use of Persian words even where there were Bengali equivalents; and sometimes adopted the Persian terminology too; and this practice was carried to such an unwarrantable extent, that the laws which generally regulate the formation of a word in a language in the inflectional stage, entirely succumbed to the superior influence of Persianism, then almost all-powerful. This is sufficiently evidenced by the chequered language used at the present day in our courts of justice as well as in zemindari sheristahs. The baleful consequences of this practice can hardly be over-estimated from a linguistic point of view. In our own days, the extensive study of the English, to the sacrifice sometimes of the mother tongue, has produced among *Young Bengal*, a jargon, half English, half vernacular, which makes their ordinary conversation wholly unintelligible except amongst themselves; and the habit of speaking in this way, once acquired, stands not only in the way of expressing their thoughts with clearness solely in their own vernacular; but is also a hindrance to their becoming masters of a correct and idiomatic English style.

The termination *í* (ई) in the word *pattaní* therefore, is evidently an out-come of the Persian influence ; having originated in a desire on the part of the Amlahs of the Burdwan Mahárájá's cutchery to form a substantive of the original word. We have examples of it in the words सुनानि,—a *hearing* ; दणनि,— a *present*, &c. ; and though the termination as it stands, seems in some instances perfectly superfluous, it is easily accounted for by the fact that the generality of the respectable natives were perfectly innocent of Sanskrit grammar and its various inflections, and as such, did not care much about the grammatical accuracy or otherwise of their syntactical formations. If on the grounds above stated, the derivative definition we have given be accepted, we have only to submit that *Darpattaní* and *Sepattaní* are formed by the mere addition of the Persian words *dar* (sub) and *se* (three), as prefixes.

Then, as regards the origin of the tenure which, as is well known, originated with the Mahárájá of Burdwan. Now, the assessment of Chakla Burdwan (the estates comprised in the Burdwan Ráj) at the decennial settlement of the Lower Provinces, was very heavy compared with that in the other parts of the country, and left only a small margin to the Mahárájá as profits. The estate, too, comprehended several thousand lots, and extended over an area of several thousand square miles, where *khas* collection was almost an impossibility. Then again, the letting of these estates in perpetuity being expressly forbidden by the Revenue Code of 1793 (*Vide* Reg. XLIV of 1793), the Mahárájá had no other resource left but to let them in *ijará* for a term of years. Considered with regard to the laws of political economy, these measures were injurious alike to the lands as well as to the cultivators. The *ijárádárs* (who passed under the various appellations *gántídárs*, *hudádárs*, *katkinádárs*, &c.,) having no permanent interest in the land, cared little about improving the estates in their charge, while they tried every means in their power to extort as much money as they could from the helpless ryots. On the other hand they were as irregular as possible in the payment of the Mahárájá's dues ; who, however, had to pay off his heavy quarterlies to the Collectorate with the utmost punctuality on pain of having his broad acres publicly sold to the highest bidder. The Mahárájá left no remedy untried to enforce regularity from the defaulting middlemen. He had recourse to law, obtained decrees for arrear of rent, and not unoften, though illegally, seized upon their persons and confined them in a dungeon in his own palace. But all to no purpose. The *ijárádárs* had consumed the money they had collected, and consequently patiently underwent all the tortures inflicted upon them. The diwáns again misappropriated a large part of the money paid by the *ijárádárs*, when they did pay ; and thus many



of them not only became immensely rich, but turned independent landholders themselves. Many of the *ijárádárs*, who at the same time held responsible posts in the Mahárájá's *sherista*, got their holdings made *istamrari*, instead of only the temporary interest which they previously had, in utter defiance, as it would seem, of the spirit of the Regulations. This state of things could not continue long without telling very heavily on the Mahárájá's exchequer. He became involved in debt, and his affairs were very much embarrassed. Corruption reigned supreme throughout his vast establishment.

At length, so runs the story, Gourang Munshi, a kinsman of the famous Vishwanath Munshi, who played so prominent a part in the decennial settlement of the Ráj, entered the Mahárájá's service, and having prepared a draft of a regulation, took Kumár Pratáp Chánd\* with him to Calcutta, spent immense money in giving balls, &c. to the members of the Government, and through Pratáp Chánd's influence and countenance, had his draft made law in the Council. This was the famous Regulation viii of 1819, the *Kanun Ashtam* of the inhabitants of Burdwan, and one of the most selfish enactments that ever emanated from a Legislature. It was a turning point in the history of the Burdwan Ráj. The old *ijárádárs*, many of whom had already secured permanent leases, were at one stroke made *patnidars* on payment of a certain sum of money as bonus; and the periodical sales of the defaulting tenures, under the regulation, served to ensure regularity in the realization of the rents. The peculiar feature of this regulation is the fact of the lease being saleable at the simple request of the zemindar, at his bare statement that an arrear is due, and on his responsibility. There is another feature in the working of this regulation which merits notice here. By a sale held under this Regulation, the purchaser acquires the tenure free from all incumbrances just as in the case of an entire estate sold for current arrears under Act. XI of 1859. And Burdwan being a district where the unculturable lands bear an immeasurably small proportion to the arable ones, the periodical *patni* sales there are more numerous attended, and larger prices are realised for the estates advertised than even at revenue sales held under the sunset law in any other district.

The *patnidars* again were allowed to sub-let their tenures to the second and the third degree; but the difference between taluks of the first and second degree, namely, the *patni* and the *darpatni* thus created by the Regulation is that the *patni kabulyet* gives the zemindar the power to sell the tenure twice every year on default of payment of rent, while the *patnidar* has his remedy only

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\* Pratáp Chand is styled *Kumár* because his father, the Mahárájá Tej Chandra, was then living.

by a regular suit for arrears of rent in the civil courts against his *darpatnidár* under the ordinary Rent Law, even if there were a similar clause in his *kabulyet*. This is also the relation between the *darpatnidár* and his under-tenant.

However injurious this system of continuous sub-infeudation may be to the cultivating ryot, it is allowed by law, and it has become an incurable malady among the landholders of the Lower Provinces, who consider the act of *khas* collection from the ryots a nuisance, and endeavour by all possible means to sub-let their lands and secure thereby a *pákká munáfá* (an unfailing income) as if that were the *summum bonum*. This practice is nowhere more inveterate than in Burdwan, where almost all the lands are let in *patni*; and one evil amongst others is that by this wholesale sub-letting the principal landlord of the district, the *Maharájá*, never comes into contact with the ryots (many of whom, by-the-way, have a vague notion that he is somehow or other a pensioner under Government like some other titled noblemen of the country besides their *hakim*); and is therefore, except in so far as the power of alienation is concerned, no more a proprietor of his vast estates, in the sense in which political economists would consider the word than a collector of the district which he has charge of.

S. B. CHAUDHURI.



#### ART. IX.—CENTRAL INDIA IN 1857.

**I**N the beginning of the hot weather of 1857, Sir Robert Hamilton, the Governor General's Agent in Central India, was driven by ill health to Europe. Colonel Durand, who had been appointed to act for him, arrived at Indore on the 5th of April.

At this time there seemed to be no immediate danger that the new Agent's tenure of office would prove an unquiet one. The uneasy feeling which, during the last few months, had permeated the ranks of the Bengal Native Army, was apparently on the decrease. A perilous crisis had just been safely passed. The 19th Native Infantry, goaded into sudden mutiny a few weeks before by the story of the greased cartridges, had suffered itself to be quietly disarmed at Barrackpore, and its fate had provoked no overt expression of sympathy. April brought with it a general hope that the effect of this example, and the soothing assurances conveyed to the troops, might suffice to allay the prevailing spirit of insubordination or mistrust, that the wave of disaffection would die away as the circle widened. In Central India itself all seemed perfectly quiet. Writing to the Private Secretary on the 10th of April to announce his arrival, Colonel Durand found no topic of local interest more important than an outbreak of cholera in the city of Indore. But in truth India was on the eve of a terrible awakening. The storm was gathering to the northward, and it was not long before its first mutterings began to make themselves heard in the territories under the Agent's charge.

The earliest warning of trouble came from the most distant point of the Agency. On the 25th of April, Colonel Durand received information that a sepoy of the Bengal Native Infantry had been apprehended at Rewah, charged with the delivery of a treasonable missive to the Durbar. It was at first supposed that this man belonged to the disbanded 19th, but it turned out on enquiry that he was a private of the 37th Native Infantry, then stationed at Benares, immediately north of the Rewah State, and there was reason to believe that he was one of several emissaries sent out by that regiment to try the temper of the Native Courts. From this time evil tidings poured in fast. A private letter brought the news of the mutinous behaviour of the 3rd Cavalry at Meerut. Then came a report that a regiment of Oudh Infantry had misconducted itself at Lucknow, and this was a warning of peculiar significance for Central India, for it showed that the prevailing disaffection was not confined to the Regular Army. Even Contingents were becoming tainted, and on the fidelity of

Contingent troops depended the safety of the Agent's charge. But the Oudh soldiery were after all little different from their brethren of the Regular Army. In Central India all still seemed secure, and Colonel Durand wrote to Lord Canning: "I have no reason to suppose that any of the Contingents of Central India have as yet shown any disposition to sympathise with the disaffected movement. Rumours of an uncomfortable feeling existing among the Mhow native troops I have had, but nothing definite, and nothing to which I attach any importance." This was on Monday the 11th of May. On the following Thursday the calm was over. A series of startling telegrams had come in from the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra. The native troops at Meerut had broken into open revolt, many Europeans had been massacred, and Dehli was in the hands of the insurgents. The storm which had been so long gathering had burst at last. Every Englishman knows what followed. How through the long summer months, came from station after station the same story of treachery and massacre. How province after province was wrenched from our grasp by our own revolted soldiery. How a Mughul again enjoyed for a time the substance of power at Dehli, and a Peshwah was proclaimed at Bithoor. How here and there little clusters of our countrymen stood doggedly at bay, hardening their hearts against tremendous odds. And how at last doubt and disaster gave place to confidence and triumph; and the last of the Peshwahs fled before Havelock; and Hodson brought in as a prisoner the last of the Dehli Kings; and the British Government stood out in name as well as in fact the Paramount Power in India. We won in the end, as we have a way of doing. But it was a life and death struggle, and from end to end of India, Englishmen had to strain every nerve before our supremacy was restored.

To understand the part which Central India was called upon to play in the great conflict, it will be necessary to examine in detail the geographical position of the territories under the Agent's charge, and the circumstances which surrounded him. Central India may be roughly described as a great triangle. The base, some five hundred miles in length, lay nearly east and west. It was formed by a line drawn across the continent, from a point about fifty miles east of Baroda. This line followed the course of the Nerbudda as far as Jubbulpore, and was thence produced to the eastern extremity of the Rewah State, about a hundred miles south of Benares. From the terminal points of the line, the sides of the triangle, each over three hundred and fifty miles\* in length, sloped upwards to the northern extremity of

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\* These distances and many others mentioned in this article have been roughly computed with the aid of a map. Probably they are under the mark as a rule.



Sindia's dominion, a point on the Chumbul about thirty miles south of Agra. Of course this figure was a very irregular one. The Rajpootana States encroached on the north-west side of the triangle, and the British provinces, below the Jumna, encroached on the north-east side, while Holkar's territory fell in a loop over the Nerbudda at the south-west corner. But the description will serve to convey a general idea of the position of the territories over which the Agent had to exercise a more or less direct control.

The importance of this great tract of country did not lie mainly in its size. From the southern frontier of Holkar's possessions below the Nerbudda to the apex of the triangle near Dholepore, the direct road between Bombay and Agra lay through the territory of the States under the Agent's charge. Both as a postal and telegraphic line this road was invaluable, for at that time there was no direct telegraphic line between Madras and Calcutta, and the only circle by which telegraphic communication with the Madras and Bombay presidencies could be effected, was that by Agra and Indore. It was not less important as a purely military road, for along it the Bombay army could be brought directly into operation against the north of India. The maintenance of this line of communication, the very backbone of his charge, was at the beginning of the outbreak, the main object which the Agent had in view.

Unfortunately he had to contend against no common difficulties. The road was flanked to the westward, though at a considerable distance, by the two large military stations of Neemuch and Nusseerabad, both of which were occupied by Regular troops not under his orders. To the eastward, the position was still more insecure. The great triangular tract of which I have spoken, was not all under the direct control of the Agency. It was fairly cloven asunder by the "Saugor and Nerbudda territories"—a wedge of country which pushed up through the base of the triangle, throwing off Bundelcund and Rewah to the eastward, and narrowing to a point at Jhansee, in the very heart of the Agent's charge, where it was met by a southerly projection from the British sub-Jumna districts. This tract of country was studded with military stations occupied by Regular troops. Jubbulpore, Saugor, Lullutpore, Nowgong, and Jhansee flanked the Bombay road at various distances, closing gradually upon it to the northward. The last-named and most northerly station was, perhaps, fifty miles east of the road. As this chain of posts completely separated the Agent from the eastern portion of his charge, the only force he could depend upon for the protection of the great line of communications, was that at his disposal between the western frontier of the Saugor Commissionership and the eastern frontier of Rajpootana, close to which was Neemuch.

The value of this force did not consist in its European element. With the exception of one battery of foot Artillery, which contained a source of weakness in the shape of native drivers, there was not a single European soldier under the Agent's orders. The only strong point about his position was the fact that the bulk of the force was not composed of Regulars. It was made up of troops from the several Contingents of the States under the Agency. These Contingent troops formed a service apart from the Regular Army. They were as soldiers under somewhat different conditions, and had little in common with the men of the British Line. Hitherto they had shown no signs of disaffection. It seemed possible, therefore, that masses of Contingent troops, carefully isolated, might keep the Regulars in check, the latter being uncertain whether sympathy with themselves or the ties of discipline would prevail in the ranks of the local forces. It was at best a precarious chance, but it was the only one, and so long as the isolation was maintained, the Contingents of Central India did, in fact, remain outwardly loyal.

The disposition of the various troops was as follows:—At Mhow, some five and twenty miles north of the Nerbudda, and the first military post on the line, were stationed the only Regular troops within the Agency. These were the 23rd Bengal Native Infantry, and a wing of the 1st Cavalry, the other wing of which was at Neemuch. Here also was stationed the European battery under Captain Hungerford. It was from Mhow that trouble was all along expected, and it was from Mhow that the worst of the trouble came. Thirteen miles higher up the road lay Indore, the head-quarters of the Agency. In Indore itself was a detachment of the Malwa Contingent, 200 strong, which acted as a guard for the treasury and other public buildings. There was also a large force of all arms belonging to the Maharaja Holkar. Above Indore there was no military station on the main road for something like 200 miles. But flanking it on the west were the two stations of Mehidpoor and Augur, thirty miles apart, and rather more than that distance from the road. Mehidpoor was the head-quarters of the Malwa Contingent. Facing these stations, some forty miles east of the main road, and about 100 from Indore, was Sehore in Bhopal, the head-quarters of the Bhopal Contingent. Higher up again, in Sindia's territory, and on the road itself, lay Goonah, perhaps 200 miles from Indore. Some sixty miles further north was Seepree, and about the same distance above it Gwalior. These three stations were all occupied by troops of the Gwalior Contingent, the head-quarters of which were at Gwalior itself, only 65 miles south of Agra.

Mhow, therefore, was entirely isolated. Below it lay the Ner-



budda, and the troops of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, while above it overwhelming numbers of Contingent and Durbar troops were spread out over the country and barred all passage to the northward. It would be useless to overload these pages with a statement of the strength of each Contingent. The Gwalior force alone numbered over 8,000 men, commanded by European officers. So long, therefore, as the Contingents remained faithful, the Agent could make sure of eventually crushing any attempt at revolt on the part of the small body of Regulars at Mhow. But on the fidelity of the Contingents everything depended.

Such was the state of affairs in Central India, when on the 14th of May news arrived of the great catastrophes at Meerut and Delhi. It was a critical moment, for the treasury at Indore was a tempting prize, and the guard available for its defence was a very small one. Colonel Durand immediately sent out right and left for reinforcements. But these could not arrive before the 20th. The Mhow troops could hardly be kept so long in ignorance of what was passing, and it was impossible to say how they might be stirred by the tidings. The City of Indore itself was full of dangerous classes who would be only too ready to join in any undertaking which offered a chance of plunder. The European battery without supports of any kind could not, of course, be expected to do much against the mutineers. Indeed, it seemed only too probable, that if either Infantry or Cavalry plucked up courage for a rush, the guns must fall an easy prey. However, what could be done to secure Indore was done. A body of the Maharaja's Cavalry, with some guns, was kept ready night and day, and pickets were pushed forward along the Mhow road. But it was very doubtful whether these troops could be relied upon to fight the Regulars, and if they gave way there seemed to be little chance of saving Indore. The danger was narrowly escaped. It afterwards transpired that the Mhow troops had debated among themselves whether they would make a dash for the north, *via* Indore, before reinforcements could arrive. But they were not at this time sure of the Contingent or of Holkar's men, and they allowed the chance to go by. On the morning of the 20th May, the attempt would have been too late. The Bheel corps from Sirdarpore, 270 strong, about the same number of Bhopal Contingent Infantry with two guns, and two troops of Bhopal Contingent Cavalry, mostly Sikhs, had been brought in by forced marches.

Meanwhile, however, the Mhow officers had lost all confidence in their men, and the excitement throughout the Cantonment was distressing. Colonel Platt, who commanded the 23rd and the station, was known to be ever ready and resolute. But he had gone out tiger-shooting, and his absence was unfortunate.



Those who should have been lessening the danger by keeping up a show of confidence were in fact doing their best to precipitate the collision by a series of injudicious proceedings. When the bad news arrived from Dehli, a large and heterogeneous council of officers was convened to discuss the position. As might have been expected this resulted in the enunciation of some very unwise views, and the increase of alarm. On the 17th, Major Harris, commanding the Cavalry, who had himself objected to the council when it met, came into Indore and described the state of affairs at Mhow. Colonel Durand immediately informed him that the summoning of such an assembly was an indiscreet measure, and that it should not be repeated. With regard to the proposals of the officers, which involved a show of mistrust, the Agent replied that in his opinion there were only two courses open on these occasions—undiminished trust or overt mistrust with its accompanying precautions—that the former was in their power, the latter from want of force not so, and that they should be very careful to do nothing which might precipitate an outburst of feeling on the part of the troops. But the alarm did not subside. The artilleryman, Hungerford shotted his guns; measures were taken for provisioning the magazine, and the hesitating natives were encouraged to rise by every sign of perturbation among the Europeans. So it ever was. With Colonel Durand, as with all others in high places at the time, one of the great difficulties was to induce men, some of whom afterwards proved themselves brave enough in actual danger, to meet the approach of the danger with a serene face and a show of confidence. "Don't be alarmed yourselves and don't alarm others" was Colonel Durand's incessant advice. And from end to end of the Agency it was sorely needed.

For a few days after the arrival of reinforcements at Indore, things seemed to be going on better. The Regulars in Nowgong and Jhansee were loud in their professions of loyalty. The city of Indore, which from the 15th to the 20th had been in a state of the wildest alarm, began to regain its wonted composure. News came from Agra that "the plague was being stayed." The Dehli mutineers, some 3,000 strong, were clinging to the walls and living by plunder. The "final advance" of our army was about to be made, and it seemed likely that the news of the city having fallen would soon come to act as a general sedative. But as the month of May wore to a close this gleam of sunshine was overcast. Disquieting rumours came in from Neemuch and Nusseera-bad. A body of the Gwalior Contingent Cavalry pushed up, contrary to Colonel Durand's wishes, into contact with the mutinous masses at Hattrass, deserted its European officer and went into open revolt. General Ramsay, who commanded at Gwalior, expressed himself doubtful of the whole Contingent and refused



to call in any detachments to head-quarters. Nearer at hand, Colonel Travers, commanding the Bhopal Contingent, reported that emissaries from the 23rd were tampering with his men. Writing to Lord Elphinstone on the 31st of May, Colonel Durand summed up the position as follows: "No great reliance can now be placed on Contingents any more than on their comrades of the Regular Army. In Central India, however, there is nothing for it but to hold the one in check by the other until some blow struck by the Commander-in-Chief tell as a sedative. Every day's delay is, however, rendering our position here as elsewhere more precarious."

The early days of June brought news of a still more serious nature. On the 1st, Colonel Durand learnt that the Nusseerabad troops had risen, and marched off in a body towards Dehli. Five days later it was known that the force at Neemuch had followed their example, and foremost among the mutineers had been the wing of the 1st Cavalry. It was very doubtful how the Mhow troops would take the news. Colonel Platt was confident, but the Durbar Vakeel at Indore insisted upon it that they were on the point of rising; while from other sources came information that they had been incited to mutiny by the Durbar itself. It was said that they meant to rise on the 9th, to surround and overwhelm the European battery, and then, "with Holkar in their favour," attack the Treasury at Indore. But if any rising had been contemplated it was not carried into execution. The news of the Neemuch outbreak filtered through the ranks and seemed to produce no fresh excitement. The Cavalry remained outwardly respectful, and the 23rd volunteered to march against the mutineers. It seemed just possible that all might yet go well. Distrust of the Maharaja's troops, and of the heterogeneous detachments collected at Indore, might be sufficient to curb the Mhow force. Colonel Durand was well aware that Holkar's name was being made use of among the sepoys as an incentive to revolt. But he attached little credit to tales of Holkar's disloyalty: "Holkar's fears and interests," he wrote, "are on our side, and so far as any Durbar, especially a Mahratta Durbar, is trustworthy Holkar's seems so: I have seen nothing suspicious." This was written on the 8th June. On the following day came a piece of bad news. The Malwa Contingent Cavalry, pushed up contrary to Colonel Durand's orders into practical contact with the Neemuch mutineers, had murdered their officers, and gone off in a body. The defection of this force was peculiarly unfortunate. The men had many relatives among Holkar's cavalry and their misconduct naturally threw suspicion on the latter. Holkar himself frankly confessed that he was no longer sure of his troops. But there was little further aid



available. Beyond calling in Colonel Travers from Sehore with the rest of the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry, some 50 men, nothing more could be done to make the position secure. Meanwhile, more bad news had come in. A terrible massacre of Europeans was reported from Jhansee. The troops at Nowgong were said to have followed suit. And, worse than all, on the evening of the 14th June, the interruption of the telegraph between Gwalior and Seepree gave the first intimation that the great main road itself was in danger. Two days later the cause of the interruption was known. The Gwalior Contingent had risen, and Sindia's capital was in the hands of the mutineers. The communications with Agra along the direct road were now cut off. For a hundred miles below the Chumbul the line was gone, and, as detachments of the Gwalior Contingent held Seepree and Goonah, it seemed likely that the flame of insurrection would run down the line, and that the telegraph would soon be working only upon the last 150 miles above Indore. This apprehension was soon verified. On the evening of the 20th, an express from Captain Harrison, who commanded a troop of the Contingent at Goonah, announced that the Seepree officers had joined him. Captain Harrison added that he was falling back on Indore. He was ordered to halt his troop at Biowra, 120 miles north of Indore, and to keep up telegraphic communication from there. Letters from Agra had now to travel round by Jeypoor in Rajpootana, and even so their safety was very doubtful.

Meanwhile, a small relieving column, under the command of Major-General Woodburn, had been moving up to Mhow from Bombay. It consisted of five troops of H. M.'s 14th Dragoons, a battery of European Artillery, one company of Sappers, and a regiment of Native Infantry. The 3rd Nizam's Cavalry, and another regiment of Native Infantry, were waiting at Mulligaum to join in the advance. The advent of this force at Mhow had been anxiously awaited. It would have kept the Mhow troops in order, and established the fidelity of the Contingents which still stood. In all probability, it would also have enabled the Governor-General's Agent to recover the greater part of the lost line of communication with Agra. But Colonel Durand's hopes were doomed to disappointment. Just as it seemed probable that he would soon have a trustworthy force above the Nerbudda, the 1st Nizam's Cavalry, which had been pushed up to take the place of the 3rd, mutinied at Aurungabad; Woodburn's advance on Mhow was checked, and the column was diverted to the eastward. The result of this move was likely to be serious. The Mhow troops were relieved from immediate fear, and it seemed probable that they might take advantage of the delay to make a dash for Sindia's country, while immediately to the south of the Nerbudda symptoms of



disaffection had begun to manifest themselves. At the moment that this unlucky diversion took place worse news came pouring in from the north and east. Jubbulpore was on the verge of mutiny; Lullutpore the same; Saugor was hesitating; and in Bundelcund a rising of the turbulent natives began to assume formidable dimensions. Nothing now stood above Indore but a small semi-circle of doubtful Contingent troops. At Mehidpoor the Artillery and Infantry had remained faithful under peculiarly trying circumstances; Augur was held by a detachment of the same force; Captain Harrison, with his troop of Gwalior Cavalry, lay at Biowra; and from Sehore all was reported safe. But in Mhow itself the temper of the troops was so uncertain that Colonel Platt dared not risk the punishment of an emissary who had been caught tampering with the 23rd. The man was sent over to Indore to be dealt with, and Colonel Durand wrote: "Any thing more ticklish than the state of the native corps at Mhow, Saugor and Jubbulpore, can scarcely be conceived. Of course there has been volunteering, etc., and 'entire confidence' on the part of commanding officers. But that is all moonshine, and every one knows the real state of affairs."

The fate of Central India was trembling in the balance. For a moment it seemed as if the crisis would be safely passed. News came that Woodburn had roughly trampled out the rising at Aurungabad and was free to march on Mhow, and at the same time Colonel Durand received information that Dehli had fallen on the 12th. But these good tidings were soon found to be delusive, and the reaction turned the scale. On the 28th Lord Elphinstone telegraphed that Woodburn could not advance, and enquired the probable effect on Colonel Durand's charge. The Agent immediately replied that he could not answer one hour for the safety of Central India if it should become known that the column was not marching on Mhow. He urgently pressed Lord Elphinstone to push on the little force without delay, and pointed out that there was no difficulty in its path. Lord Elphinstone replied that the advance had not been countermanded. But it was too late. The contents of the first message had leaked out of the telegraph office, and were soon known in the bazaars. About the same time one of the Indore bankers received bad news from Dehli which he would not communicate to the Agent. What that news was became only too soon apparent. On the morning of the 1st July, a letter came in from Agra. It was dated the 20th June, and showed that the former report of the fall of Dehli had been premature. Up to the 17th, the British position had been repeatedly attacked, it was all we could do to hold our own, and the General had determined to await reinforcements before venturing on an assault.

Colonel Durand was in the act of condensing this information into a telegram for Lord Elphinstone, so that the latest news from Dehli might reach England by the Bombay steamer of the 1st July, when a *chupprasse* rushed into the room and reported that there was a great commotion in the bazaar. The noise rose rapidly, and Colonel Durand laid down his pen to see what was the matter. He had not long to wait. A fortnight before, three of Holkar's nine-pounders and two companies of Infantry had been brought over to strengthen the garrison of the Residency. As Colonel Durand came out upon the Residency steps these guns opened fire, and sent a shower of grape into the Bhopal Contingent lines. The surprise was complete. The Cavalry at their pickets had received the greater portion of the discharge, and as fast as the men could saddle and mount they came rushing out, wild with alarm. All attempts to form them were useless. They were galloping hither and thither in utter confusion, and seemed to think only of getting under cover. Colonel Travers, always ready for a deed of daring, did the best thing that could be done under the circumstances. Calling upon his men to follow he dashed into the open and rode straight at the guns. But his example was not sufficient to stir the blood of the panic stricken troopers. Five men, all Sikhs, followed him and got in among Holkar's gunners, but the rest of the regiment hung back, and the chance of taking the guns was lost. Of course the charge, gallant as it was, could make no real impression, though it served to gain a little time. Holkar's Artillery moved round unmolested by the left of the Infantry lines and took up a new position in front of the Residency, where they were less exposed to a second attempt of the kind; a position they could never have held and would never have taken up had they not been sure of the Contingent Infantry. They were supported by Holkar's Cavalry, swarming under every sort of cover, and by the two companies of Infantry which had been posted for the defence of the Residency. The two guns of the Bhopal Contingent were now moved forward to meet the attack. Those of the native gunners who had not made off at the first discharge of grape, fourteen in number, did their duty well under the direction of two European Sergeants, Orr and Murphy. One of the enemy's pieces was disabled, and the Infantry supports driven off. But the success of our people was only temporary, for it was not supported. Nothing would induce the Contingent Cavalry to seize their opportunity. They were mostly Sikhs, and Colonel Durand, who knew of old how Sikhs could fight, had fully relied upon their courage. But he was miserably disappointed. No exertion on the part of the officers could bring them into any sort of formation. A portion of the regiment was already scampering along the road to Sehore,



where they arrived incoherent with terror, spreading the report that every European in Indore had been massacred, and that they alone had escaped to tell the tale. The rest gathered in a shapeless heap far to the rear of the Residency, and there remained, loyal but useless. The behaviour of the Infantry was still worse. The men of the Bhopal Contingent, some 270 strong, levelled their muskets at their European officers and drove them off. The Mehidpore Contingent Infantry, of whom about 200 were in the lines, refused to obey orders, and remained sullenly aloof. The Bheels under Colonel Stockley, were so far manageable that they allowed themselves to be formed; but fight they would not. By incessant exertion their officers succeeded in making them keep their ranks, but Colonel Stockley reported them too unsteady to be thrust into action, and all thought of an advance had to be given up.

One last chance remained. At the beginning of the cannonade Colonel Durand had sent off a note to Colonel Platt asking for the immediate despatch of the European battery. A stand might possibly be made until news should arrive from Mhow. The Bheels were thrown into the Residency in the hope that they might pluck up courage under cover and do something to punish the attacking force. But the hope was a vain one. Holkar's guns had now moved round to their original position, where they had good cover, and were pouring a well-directed fire of round shot and grape into the Residency building itself. The Bheels were completely cowed by the storm, and could not be induced to discharge their pieces even from the comparative security of the Residency windows. The whole work of defence was left to the fourteen faithful gunners, and it soon became clear that even if Hungerford's battery were able to leave Mhow it would arrive too late to do more than cover a retreat. The attack was no longer a tentative one. Encouraged by the impunity with which the guns had for nearly two hours cannonaded the Residency, Holkar's troops came pouring up to their support. A Durbar officer of high rank called them out to the attack, and the lines were rapidly emptied. Holkar was known to have a powerful force. Besides the three guns which had proved too much for the feelings of the Cavalry and Bheels, he had nine good English six and nine-pounders, with some fifteen or twenty others of various calibres. His Cavalry numbered about 1,400 sabres. His Regular Infantry, putting it at the lowest computation, was 2,000 strong, and was backed by all the rabble of the city, burning to join in the slaughter of the *Sahib logue*. To make matter worse nearly 500 mutinous Contingent Infantry were biding their time within the Residency lines.

At this juncture, Captain Magniac, the officer commanding the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry, came up for the third time with a

message from his men. They intimated that they were about to consult their own safety, further resistance being hopeless, and begged that this last chance might be taken of saving the ladies and children. Some of Holkar's guns and Cavalry were moving round to cut off the retreat, and they intended to make their escape before it was too late.

To fight longer with any chance of success was impossible. The flight of the Bhopal Horse would have cut away even the faint show of strength which remained. All the Europeans who had not been murdered were now in the Residency, and the last hope of saving them was to retreat while retreat was possible. To cling to the Residency was to pronounce the doom of the little company. There was just a chance that the European battery might be coming up, but this was very unlikely. The Mhow troops had from the first formed the nucleus of disaffection and intrigue. In all probability the rising was a concerted one, and Hungerford had enough to do to hold his own. Even if this were not the case the arrival of the battery would now be too late to turn the scale. It could hardly be up under two hours, and by that time the whole of Holkar's troops would be ready to receive it. Unsupported by either Cavalry or Infantry it could hardly be expected to break through the overwhelming masses of the enemy and bring off the survivors, if there should be any survivors, of the little garrison. More than this it certainly could not hope to do. There was nothing therefore, to be gained by clinging to the walls of the Residency, and there was everything to be lost. To retire now while the remnant of a force hung together was the course dictated by every military consideration. At half-past ten the order was given. The mutineers had cut off all the horses and carriages, but the ladies were mounted on the gun waggons, and thus with the Bheels and Cavalry covering the rear, the little force moved slowly off under the fire of Holkar's guns. For the time at least it was not pursued. Small as it was, it was yet sufficient to command a certain amount of respect; and Holkar's troops, shrinking from a hand-to-hand fight, or satiated by the slaughter of some forty Europeans, who had been cut off outside the Residency, turned to the more congenial occupation of plundering the Treasury. In this they were joined by the Contingent troops.

The line of retreat chosen was of course that on Mhow. It was possible that the battery might be on its way and that a junction might be effected. But the hope, if hope there ever was, was very soon over. The Bhopal Cavalry could not be persuaded to follow; their fears of the Mhow troops were too vivid, and the attempt had to be given up. The next best course was to circle round Mhow and make Mundlaisur, which Captain



Keatinge, the Political Officer in Nimar, had prepared as a point of refuge for our people in case the Mhow troops rose. Mundlaisur was situated on the northern bank of the Nerbudda, some five and twenty miles south of Mhow. The force was accordingly diverted from the Mhow road with the view of crossing the hills by the Simrole pass. But this plan also failed. When Colonel Durand arrived at Tilloor, about ten miles from Indore, some villagers came up with the information that four guns and some Cavalry of Holkar's had gone on in advance the day before, and had occupied the pass. This information was corroborated by a Sikh trooper, who stated that he had seen the guns go by when on picket upon the Mhow road. Colonel Durand decided upon this to force the pass, and descend on Mundlaisur. But again the fears of the Cavalry stepped in. They resolutely declined to obey the order, and intimated in the plainest terms, that if the attempt were persisted in, they would detach themselves from the force and leave the Bheels to follow alone. Their officers were in no position to enforce obedience. The value of the Bheels had been sufficiently demonstrated, and the Mundlaisur route was reluctantly given up. The only chance of keeping together the semblance of a force, and effecting an orderly retreat, was to humour the Cavalry and march eastward on Sehore. As I have already stated, this place was the head-quarters of the Contingent, and the Cavalry were disturbed by fears for the safety of their families, the Mussulmans distrusting the Sikhs, and the Sikhs distrusting the Mussulmans. The change of route was a serious one, for it took the little force away from the only strong place within reach, from the chance of rejoining the European battery, and from the line of Woodburn's advance. It trebled the distance to be covered and of course it invited pursuit. But there was nothing else to be done. The retreat was safely effected. Pressed on in rapid marches by the Cavalry, whose ungovernable fears made them utterly careless of the exhaustion of the unmounted men, the remnant of the little force marched into Sehore on the 4th of July, bringing in its guns, and every European, who had reached the Residency on the morning of the outbreak. For the time the Contingent remained faithful, and the troops of the Bhopal State behaved well. The Sekunder Begum, a lady of remarkable talent and tact, was at the head of affairs, and she succeeded in keeping down the gathering spirit of revolt. After a day's stay in Sehore, Colonel Durand struck down to Hoshungabad, on the southern bank of the Nerbudda, whence he hoped to get into communication with Major-General Woodburn, and to bring round his people to Mundlaisur, or if such a course seemed advisable, to Mhow; of course any attempt to reach either place by the northern bank of the river was to retrace his steps through

Holkar's territory, unattended even by the Contingent. When he arrived at Hoshungabad, however, he learnt that the Mhow troops had risen on the night of the 1st July, and after murdering three of their officers had gone off to Indore. The European battery was safe in the Fort, neither pressed nor threatened, though without supports, and crippled, moreover by the defection of its native drivers and syces, it could do nothing to check or punish the mutineers.

The whole line of communication from the Nerbudda to the Chumbul, had now passed out of our hands. But below the Nerbudda all stood firm so far, and it needed only the rapid advance of Woodburn's column to stay the spread of disaffection, and maintain our position at all events up to the river line. To delay any longer was to risk the loss of the river itself, and the fall of the only barrier which yet stood between the blazing north and the smouldering south. But neither Major-General Woodburn nor the Civil authorities at Nagpore had grasped this fact. While Colonel Durand was at Hoshungabad he received information which struck him with indignant surprise. Blind to the disastrous nature of such a surrender the Nagpore Commissioner, Mr. Plowden, was doing his utmost to throw up the Nerbudda, and to divert Woodburn's column from its advance. The officers commanding the military posts upon the northern line of the Commissionership had been directed to fall back on Kamptee, if the Indore mutineers threatened to march southwards, and Mr. Plowden had written to Major-General Woodburn, begging him to march eastward on Nagpore. It is hardly necessary to point out the consequences of such a move. It would have lost us a remarkably strong military position, thrown back our frontier, perhaps 150 miles, exposed Candeish, imperilled the northern portion of the Nizam's dominions, and afforded a strong incentive to the southern troops to revolt. A more dangerous confession of weakness could hardly have been conceived. Moreover it was totally unnecessary, for Nagpore was strong in European and Madras troops, and the mutineers could not cross the river if the posts were held. But it is only fair to add that Mr. Plowden was at the time under a misconception as to the results of the rising at Mhow. He believed that every European had been put to death.

Directly the news of the great mistake contemplated by the Nagpore authorities reached Colonel Durand, he did his utmost to prevent its commission. He addressed Mr. Plowden and the Supreme Government, pointing out the serious military error of the move. He sent an express to Major-General Woodburn announcing that he entirely disapproved of Mr. Plowden's advice, and of the instructions issued to the military posts. And he authorised



the officers commanding those posts to disregard the orders they had received. But this was not enough to secure the line of the Nerbudda. Woodburn had left it uncertain whether he meant to advance or not, and Colonel Durand knew that the effect of his representations must at best be very uncertain. There was no time for a protracted correspondence on the subject. Woodburn's delay had already done irreparable mischief. He had wasted a fortnight at Aurungabad trying mutineers when he should have been making long marches. It was now near the middle of July, and a dry July in Central India was no common phenomenon. If the column were not on the Nerbudda before the rains set in, and the roads over the black soil became impassable, it could not be there for several months, and as the line of the river was held by native troops, it was impossible to say what might happen. The Agent could of course do no good by joining the little garrison shut up in Mhow Fort. So he determined to go down himself to Aurungabad, or if necessary to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay, and force up the column by the weight of personal argument. Accordingly on the 14th of July, after satisfying himself that Mhow was safe for the present, and making arrangements for the transaction of any political business which might require attention during his absence, he started for Asseerghur. Happily his fears were soon at an end. On the 17th after reaching Hurdah, he learnt that his urgent appeals for the advance of the column, and his indignant notice of Mr. Plowden's instructions, had been effectual. Woodburn had retired to Poonah sick. But his successor, Brigadier Stuart, had been ordered to push on at once, and had marched for Mhow *via* Asseerghur on the 12th. To Asseerghur Colonel Durand proceeded to meet him and hurry on the advance. On the 1st of August he stood again at Simrole in the guise a British Agent should stand, independent of the good will of any native chief, and ready to enforce his orders. While the column lay at Simrole, it was reported that Holkar's mutinous regiments were coming out to attack it. It is a pity they did not carry out the idea, for despite their great numerical superiority they would have been scattered to the winds by Stuart's handy little force, and a good deal of after trouble would have been saved. But they thought better of it, and on the following day the column marched into Mhow. Colonel Durand had brought it up but just in time. The first shower of rain fell on the night of the 1st, and the black soil was in such a state next morning, that the European battery took fourteen hours to cover the nine-mile march. However, the column was there, and the line of the Nerbudda was saved. A few days later the force was strengthened by the arrival of 250 men of H. M.'s 86th.

Shortly after his return to Mhow, Colonel Durand summed up in the following words the state of affairs in Central India and the measures which seemed to him to be necessary for the re-establishment of the British power :—

“ The means of coercion at our disposal are extremely inadequate to the restoration of order, and to the stay of anarchy wherever that exists. The Gwalior Contingent has wholly gone from our colours, and is now, with its well equipped Artillery, in Sindia’s hands, and of course at his disposal. It may act against us. It never can act for us. The Malwa Contingent has lost all its Cavalry, a body of 800 good horse, and its Infantry so misbehaved at Indore, that it is impossible not to hold the whole body in suspicion, though the Artillery and Infantry are still together at Mehidpoor under its European officers. The Bhopal Contingent, after its disgraceful and treacherous behaviour at Indore, is now in open mutiny at Sehore and not likely to hold together long. The Bheel Corps is in course of re-assembly, but with its character and influence deteriorated, and having to be thinned of many native officers and men whom the utmost latitude of commiseration cannot permit to remain in the ranks. At Nagode, up to the latest advices from Major Ellis, the 50th Bengal Native Infantry still stood and was dutiful, but with that single exception from north to south of this charge, there is not a gun, there is not a sabre, there is not a musket, which can be called in aid of the maintenance of order and British supremacy, except Brigadier Stuart’s weak column at Mhow, consisting of one battery of European Artillery, thoroughly effective, one battery of European Artillery paralysed by loss of drivers, 230 Dragoons of H. M.’s 14th, 250 of H. M.’s 86th, the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, details of Bombay and Madras Sappers and Miners, and the 3rd Nizam’s Cavalry. The total of this effective force may amount to 700 Europeans of all arms, and 1,200 native troops of all arms, giving a grand total of 1,900 men. This force may for the present be considered in observation of Holkar’s force at Indore, composed of 30 guns of various calibres, about 1,400 horse, and five battallions of Infantry, besides a city which has shown itself hostile and seditious.”

Such was the condition of affairs in the middle of August. It could hardly seem much worse. But worse was to come. As the rainy season wore on a person calling himself the Shahzada Humayoon raised the Mussulman standard at Mundesore near the Rajpootana frontier. He was joined by a portion of Sindia’s troops, and by all the turbulent Velayutees and Mewatees of the neighbourhood. The force under his orders rose rapidly, until at last it was estimated at no less than 20,000 men and threatened



to over-run all western Malwa. To the north-east the look-out was even more threatening. It seemed only too probable that the Nana's forces, broken by Havelock about Cawnpore, might strike southward into Bundelcund, and gathering to themselves the Banda and Gwalior mutineers, pour down in one overwhelming mass upon Central India, where there was nothing to stay their advance but the small column at Mhow. The Nana's Agent Tantia Topee was known to be intriguing at Jhansee, and the Mahrattas eagerly awaited the advance of the "Peshwah" himself. Meanwhile, immediately to the east of Mhow a body of Velayutees menaced Nimar, while immediately to the westward a strong force of Aghans and other mercenaries rose and occupied Dhar and Amjhera. From this position they communicated by their left with the Mundesore army, and threatened with their right the Bombay road below Mhow.

All this time the little force at Mhow was chafing in helpless idleness. It could not attempt to enter on a campaign during the rains. Its strength lay in Cavalry and Artillery, and until the black soil was dry, there was no possibility of using these arms with effect. The roads themselves were in most parts around Indore execrably bad at this season, and off the roads there was no firm ground to deploy and act. The Infantry by itself was too weak to do much, and moreover the exposure of the men in the open, where carts baggage and Commissariat stores could not follow, was to ensure the ruin of the force from wet bivouac and want of supplies. Swayed partly by these considerations and partly by others of a political nature, Colonel Durand decided to keep the column stationary at Mhow until the rains should cease, and the surface of the country should become sufficiently hard to admit of rapid and effective movement. In this course he was supported by the Bombay Government, who feared for the security of their frontier and objected to the employment of the little force at any distance from Mhow.

Directly, however, that the weather showed signs of breaking the column prepared to open the ball. There were some difficulties to be overcome before it could take the field. The Bombay Government still desired to retain it at Mhow, and the Saugor authorities wished to cripple it by borrowing half its Artillery. To both those suggestions, Colonel Durand resolutely declined to listen, and strengthening himself by calling up a force of Nizam's troops, which the apprehensions of the Bombay Government would have kept inactive below the Nerbudda, he set his force to the northward. But it was no easy matter to decide in what direction the force should deliver its first blow. It was, of course, very desirable to disarm the Indore insurgents, and dangerous to leave them in the rear. On the other

hand their position was strong; an attempt to disarm them would probably involve a good deal of street fighting, which was the thing of all others to be avoided; and if they should prefer to retreat before the column could close on Indore, the only result of an advance in that direction would be to swell the Mundesore insurrection, already sufficiently formidable. It was decided finally that the best course would be to move on Mundesore first *via* Dhar. The crushing of the Shahzada's army would, it was thought, have a most salutary effect. His rude Velayutees were dreaded by the natives almost as much as Europeans, and with justice. The defeat of these hardy fighting men would probably take the heart out of Holkar's troops, and their disarming would be easy. If the latter should take advantage of the northward march of the column to attack Mhow they would, of course, cause temporary embarrassment. But they seemed unlikely to undertake any offensive operations, and it was necessary that something should be risked. In the middle of October, therefore, the column moved out of cantonments. The plan of operations was as follows:—The insurrection which had broken out in Dhar and Amjhera, was first to be put down. The force was then to march north against the Shahzada, and disperse the Mundesore army, after which it could either swing round on Indore, or if necessary, strike across the road above Indore, and hound back the Nana to the north-east.

It will not be necessary for the purposes of this article to give any detailed account of the movements of the column during the next two months. Dhar Fort was occupied on the 1st of November after ten days' siege, and a detachment was sent to Amjhera, a few miles further west, to free the rear and left flank of the column as it marched northwards. Amjhera was occupied without opposition. Before our troops arrived the mutineers had fled to Mundesore, and the Bombay road was free from insult. It was now hoped that the Shahzada's force might come down to meet the column in the open field, and at first it seemed as if the hope might be fulfilled. On the 8th a body of Velayutees attacked Mehidpoor, where the Infantry and Artillery of the Malwa Contingent still made a show of standing faithful. Little resistance was offered, and the enemy carried off a large supply of ammunition and some guns. Their success, however, did not last long. Major Orr, who had been pushed on in advance with a small body of Nizam's Cavalry, came up with them about sunset on the 12th. His men justified the confidence Colonel Durand had placed in them. The Velayutees made a hard stand for their supplies and guns, but they were broken and dispersed, and the whole of the spoils of the Mehidpoor station were retaken. During the next fortnight the Shahzada's army was completely shattered, after some



very severe fighting, and then, leaving the Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry at Mundesore, the little column turned round upon Holkar's troops. The effect of the move had been accurately calculated. While on the march Colonel Durand wrote to inform Holkar that he should be at Indore about the 15th of December. It was added that ample time had been allowed for the punishment of the troops and people concerned in the attack on the Residency; that only one man had in fact been punished; that now if the Maharaja could deal with the guilty their punishment would be left to him, but that if he could not, force would be used rapidly and summarily. Holkar intimated in reply that if the column would halt outside the city a mile from the Cavalry lines, he would disarm the troops himself. This was done, and on the 15th the mutinous regiments quietly laid down their arms. The mere presence of the victorious little force was sufficient. On the following morning Colonel Durand made over charge of the Agency to Sir Robert Hamilton, who now arrived on the scene, and at the same time Sir Hugh Rose took command of the troops.

Such, from a military point of view, were the facts, very briefly stated, of Colonel Durand's administration in Central India. Without the aid of any European force he had succeeded in maintaining himself at Indore for six weeks after the outbreak at Dehli, by isolating the Contingent troops and playing them off against the Regulars. When contrary to his wishes the two were allowed to come into contact, the fidelity of the Contingents gave way, and gradually the circle of insurrection closed upon Indore. At last, driven out of the Residency by a combination of treachery and cowardice, he made good a soldierly retreat in the face of overwhelming masses, veiling his weakness by a show of force, and marched into Sehore without the loss of gun, standard, or other trophy. Thence he proceeded to Hoshungabad, and resolutely holding, in the teeth of orders, the great natural barrier of the Nerbudda, dragged up Woodburn's hesitating column to Mhow before the rains came down. Using that column compactly to deal heavy blows, he took a strong fort, crushed a formidable insurrection, dispersed or disarmed forces far exceeding his own in numbers, and finally handed over his charge free of serious embarrassment to his successor.

It remains to consider the political aspect of his administration. For the purposes of the present article this resolves itself into a consideration of his relations with the Holkar State, for, as far as I am aware, his relations with the other States of the Agency never gave rise to discussion, except in the case of Dhar, and this point will be more conveniently treated later on. Up to the time of the attack on the Residency, Holkar had been treated with perfect confidence by the Acting Agent. His interests seemed to be on



our side, and his fears were openly expressed. He was at his own desire supplied with ammunition for his guns. His troops were invited to aid in the defence of the Residency. He was made acquainted with the progress of our arms in the north. In every way trust was openly shown to him until the end of June. But on the 1st of July that trust vanished and gave way for a time to suspicion. There were many circumstances which seemed at the moment to throw serious doubt upon Holkar's loyalty. He was said to be in constant communication with those whose ill-will towards the British power was beyond a doubt. It was reported that he had just received, and entertained, a messenger from the Emperor at Dehli. During the two hours that the cannonade lasted, he made no attempt to communicate with the British Representative, and some of his officers were prominent among the insurgents. Finally, when the Residency was abandoned, the retreating Europeans found that Holkar's guns had been sent round to the passes in their rear. All these facts were suspicious, and failing any denial on the Maharaja's part, Colonel Durand was led to believe that he had declared against us. To this view he gave open expression. But, meanwhile, Holkar had been doing his best to prove that he was in fact innocent of all participation in the attack. He behaved kindly to some Europeans, who had sought refuge in his palace. He saved what treasure the mutineers had left and sent it in to Mhow. He forwarded some supplies he had promised, to aid the advance of Woodburn's column. He met the requisitions of the officers in the Mhow Fort. He brought in Lieutenant Hutchinson from Jhubbooa. And he wrote protesting his innocence to Lord Elphinstone and to Colonel Durand. These protestations Colonel Durand received with the necessary caution. He informed the Maharaja that the Governor-General would doubtless be gratified with His Highness' proceedings after the outbreak; but he pointed out that Native Chiefs must *prima facie* be held responsible for the conduct of their troops, and courteously requested the Maharaja to submit any observations he might wish to make with regard to certain points connected with the insurrection; particularly with regard to his silence during the cannonade of the Residency, his retention of mutineers in his service, his supply of carriage and provisions to those of the insurgents who had marched northwards, and his despatch of guns to the rear of the Residency before the attack. Holkar replied that the confusion during the attack had been too great to allow of any communication being made; and that the moment he learnt what had happened he prepared to start for the Residency, but was stopped by the news that all was over. With regard to his troops he was powerless to punish or control, having no one on whom he



could rely. It was true that he had supplied carriage and provisions to the mutineers who marched north, but they were plundering the city, and this was his only chance of getting rid of them. As to the guns they had been sent to Mahesur, south of Mhow, in anticipation of disturbances below the Nerbudda, and the smallness of their escort showed that they were not meant for offensive action.

This explanation was forwarded to the Supreme Government by Colonel Durand with a covering letter which reviewed the circumstances in the fairest possible manner. The Agent observed that before the rising Holkar had candidly expressed mistrust of his troops, that a marked distinction was to be drawn between the Maharaja and his Durbar, that whatever might be thought of the conduct of those about him, there could be no doubt of His Highness' anxiety to separate his own name and fame from the guilt of participation in the rising, and that in his case the plea of helplessness was certainly not a mere excuse, his only means of saving Indore from the prolonged stay of the revolted soldiery being to find them carriage and supplies. As to the guns, Colonel Durand observed that there had been no concealment about their despatch, and that some time before the rising the Durbar Vakeel had talked of sending guns to Mahesur. It was added that the Maharaja proposed to appoint a commission for the trial of the guilty at Indore, but that in Colonel Durand's opinion this measure was useless, for Holkar could not enforce its sentences, even should they be honest, against armed bands who had set at defiance alike the authority of their own sovereign and that of the Supreme Government. Pending the receipt of orders on this letter, Colonel Durand continued to treat the Maharaja with friendliness, but he declined to commit himself to any act which might seem to anticipate the decision of Government as to His Highness' *prima facie* responsibility. To do so would not only have been indiscreet, but it would have been contrary to orders, as the Governor-General in Council had expressly reserved to himself the power of pardoning any individual guilty of certain crimes, and among these was the supply of assistance to mutineers.

But in the meantime others had not been so judicious. After the outbreak at Mhow, Captain Hungerford of the Artillery had assumed command of the Fort, apparently in the presence of his senior officer, Major Cooper of the 23rd. The mutineers had retired to Indore unmolested in the darkness. In spite of the fact that incendiary fires had been blazing in the Cantonment from sunset until ten o'clock on the night of the 1st July, and that a rise was momentarily expected, Hungerford had made no preparations for rapid action. When the rise came he was not ready to meet



it. The battery turned out eventually, but too late to do any good. Colonel Platt and his Adjutant, Fagan, who went on in advance, were shot down, and when the guns arrived there was no enemy to be seen. A few round shot were fired at the native lines on the chance of somebody being in them, and the battery returned to the Fort. Next morning there was not a sepoy in sight, dead or alive. But it was perfectly clear that if Holkar's troops did march down to Mhow, Hungerford could do nothing but cling to the walls of the Fort. He had no supports of any kind, and his battery was, moreover, immediately crippled by the defection of the native drivers and syces. If Holkar had any power, he was in a measure dependent on Holkar, who could at any moment surround the Fort and cut off all supplies. He was, of course, absolutely ignorant of all that had passed at Indore, of the many suspicious circumstances connected with the attack on the Residency, and of Holkar's character and conduct. In fact he was about in as bad a position as he possibly could be in to pronounce upon Holkar's loyalty. But, believing himself to be "threatened by an attack from the Rajah of Indore," Capt. Hungerford addressed His Highness, pointing out that Holkar's interests lay on our side, and expressing his confidence that Holkar was not blind to the fact. It need hardly be said that this was not a judicious proceeding. Even if the Maharaja was disloyal it was clearly to his advantage to anticipate a deliberate review of the circumstances attending the insurrection, and to gain an advocate with the British Government. He was certain therefore to respond to the overtures, and the fact that he did so was no proof of his loyalty. But Hungerford did not see the indiscreetness of committing himself to an opinion which he was not qualified to form. Hastily assuming Holkar's innocence from Holkar's behaviour after the outbreak, and relieved from apprehension by the success of his diplomatic effort, he "took political charge," and from his little corner in Mhow Fort sounded forth the Maharaja's loyalty to Lord Elphinstone at Bombay. He was joined in this by Lieutenant Hutchinson, a son-in-law of Sir Robert Hamilton's, and himself a political officer, who was at the time a fugitive in Holkar's hands. I have already shown what Colonel Durand was doing in the meanwhile. He was upholding the line of the Nerbudda and forcing up Woodburn's column. But he had not devoted himself to any lengthy exposition of his views on the comparatively unimportant question of Holkar's loyalty, and the protestations of the Maharaja backed by the advocacy of the Mhow officers, were at first somewhat hastily accepted by Lord Elphinstone at Bombay and Lord Canning at Calcutta, as proof positive of his innocence. I have no wish whatever to assert, or to imply, that the Maharaja was guilty, or that Colonel Durand continued to think



him so. I have already shown how favourably the Acting Agent received Holkar's explanation of his conduct when it was submitted. But Holkar's innocence should not have been taken for granted without careful enquiry. There was a very important principle involved, that of the *prima facie* responsibility of Native Chiefs for the acts of their troops, and the dangerous nature of the precedent created in Holkar's case was afterwards fully recognised.

From the time that Colonel Durand arrived at Mhow with Stuart's column, the main political difficulty of the position was the disarming of Holkar's troops. The Durbar could never make up their minds whether they did or did not want the aid of the British force. From the very first this vacillation showed itself. While the column lay at Simrole, waiting for the Artillery to close up, Holkar's ministers asked whether help could be afforded. They were informed that if they wished it the column would march on Indore direct instead of Mhow. But their fears had abated as suddenly as they had risen, and the answer was that as the troops were at present quiet, they did not require assistance. And so it ever was. When their fears were on them, urgent cries for help were sent to the Agent at Mhow. But when they had to face the consequences of his advance, they drew back and declined his help. They feared that the march of the Mhow troops might precipitate the crisis, and they shrank from the unpopularity attendant upon measures of punishment, and from the loss of dignity involved in the disarming of the State troops in the State capital by a British force. In this way the disarming of the mutinous regiments was deferred from week to week, and from month to month, and Colonel Durand, who wished as far as possible to respect the Maharaja's feelings, and had strong military reasons for not pressing the matter during the rains, so long as the troops remained quiet, exerted no authoritative interference. How the difficulty was eventually solved I have already described.

Such were the main facts, very briefly stated, of Colonel Durand's political administration in Central India, considered with reference to the Holkar State.

In July 1859, eighteen months after he had left Indore, when all the facts had been fully and calmly reviewed, Lord Canning wrote a Minute recording the services of certain officers during the mutiny. It contained the following words:—

"I desire to bring prominently before Her Majesty's Government the very important services of the two distinguished men who have had charge of the affairs of Central India during that time.

"The first thanks of the Government are due to Lieutenant-Colonel Durand, C.B., who at the time of the out-break was officiating as the Agent of the Governor-General. Colonel Durand's conduct was marked by great foresight and the soundest judgment as



"well in military as in civil matters. He had many points to guard, and the trustworthy force at his disposal was almost hopelessly small, but by a judicious use of it, and by the closest personal supervision of its movements, Colonel Durand saved our interests in Central India until support could arrive."

Such, after long and mature consideration, was Lord Canning's opinion. But Sir John Kaye, whose latest work now lies before me, takes an altogether different view of Colonel Durand's conduct; and as Sir John Kaye's works are at present extensively read, I propose to point out briefly what I venture to think are imperfections in his account of the mutiny in Central India.

To begin with, it may be as well to consider the source from which he draws his information. In the preface to his first volume Sir John Kaye mentions that he has obtained "much valuable matter in elucidation of the history of the Central Indian campaign" from Sir Robert Hamilton. It is not altogether unreasonable to suppose, that he is indebted to the same authority for more valuable matter in elucidation of the conduct and character of the Acting Agent, Colonel Durand. The supposition is borne out by the tone in which the historian speaks of Sir Robert Hamilton himself, and the coincidence of his views with those which Sir Robert Hamilton is known to have held. Now, Sir Robert Hamilton and Colonel Durand were, as Sir John Kaye justly remarks, "extremely dissimilar." "They had different characters and different opinions." Therefore, it is at least possible that Sir John Kaye has followed a somewhat unsafe guide in forming his judgment of Colonel Durand's action in Central India. It will be advisable to bear that possibility in view in estimating the value of Sir John Kaye's criticisms. But to turn to the story itself. In the first place it is singularly incomplete. Sir John Kaye ignores altogether the position of Central India, the objects which the Agent had in view, and the difficulties which beset him. He discusses Colonel Durand's conduct almost entirely with reference to Holkar and Holkar's behaviour on the particular occasion of the Indore outbreak. He describes with his customary eloquence the attack on the Residency, drives the British Representative into outer darkness, and then, making no mention whatever of subsequent operations, dismisses Sir Henry Durand to his doom in the Punjab, with a few final words of somewhat inconsistent eulogy. The whole chapter reads far more like an elaborate justification of Holkar, than an attempt to narrate the facts of the mutiny in Central India. But doubtless the behaviour of the principal Native Chiefs had some bearing on the progress of the revolt, and Sir John Kaye may possibly be right in attaching such exclusive importance to the discussion of Holkar's loyalty. His view of the insurrection at Indore may be stated in a few



words. Holkar was "thoroughly true to the British Government," and from first to last did his duty boldly and well. Colonel Durand unfortunately was not capable of grasping this fact. He had an "antipathy" for Holkar from the first. He was "not tolerant." He expected a Mahratta Chief to be "as leal as a Percy or a Campbell." He "wanted imagination" and "could not orientalise himself." He was inclined to "leap hastily to conclusions." On the 1st of July, when Holkar's troops attacked the Residency, he leaped hastily to the conclusion that Holkar was faithless, simply because Holkar was as much "bewildered" as himself, and had not sent any message during the cannonade. Thus easily convinced of Holkar's disloyalty, Colonel Durand "fled without good cause from Indore," and disappeared into space; leaving his political functions to be assumed, and the British Government to be "saved," by a stout-hearted artilleryman at Mhow, who, if Colonel Durand had only held on "a few hours" longer, would have rattled up with his battery, dissipated the enemy, and crushed the revolt. Afterwards as this "precipitate retreat" could only be justified "by proving the consummate treachery of Holkar," Colonel Durand laid himself out to prove it. He did not succeed. But his influence was sufficient to keep Holkar ever "more or less a suspect," and to prevent his obtaining, what he most coveted, the grant of a territorial reward. "There can be no question that Holkar was sacrificed to the justification of Durand."

Such are Sir John Kaye's views. Now this line of reasoning is based throughout on what seems to me a patent fallacy: that the retreat from Indore was made in consequence of political considerations. Sir John Kaye states the case as follows:—"Durand, \* \* hastily condemned Holkar, and by his flight from Indore brought matters to this issue, that either the Maharaja was a traitor or that the British Agent had fled without good cause from Indore." If I were disposed or obliged to accept this issue I should be able to do so with a certain amount of encouragement from Sir John Kaye himself. I might remind him of his own words used with regard to Sindia. "It was not to be expected that being a man and a Mahratta he should not when assailed by the fierce temptation sometimes have wavered in his allegiance, and for a little while yielded inwardly to the allurements that beset him. Perhaps, indeed, there was not a Native Chief in India, who was not sometimes minded to wait and watch at the outset of the great convulsion." Holkar also was a man and a Mahratta, and if he waited and watched while his guns were cannonading the Residency, he was not "thoroughly true to the British Government." But in point of fact Sir John Kaye's issue is altogether beside the mark. He has failed

to see that Colonel Durand's retreat from the Residency, and Colonel Durand's treatment of Holkar, were two entirely separate and distinct matters. If Colonel Durand fled from Indore without good cause, he tarnished his honour as a soldier. If he misjudged or maligned Holkar, he was a bad political officer or a dishonest man. But to mix up the two considerations is wholly illogical. The retreat from the Residency was a purely military operation to be justified or condemned solely on military grounds. No one seems to have realised more clearly than Sir John Kaye, the fact that Holkar was entirely powerless, that he neither had nor pretended to have the smallest remnant of control when his troops rose. One of the leaders of the insurgents was a Durbar officer named Saadut Khan, who was hanged two years ago for his share in that day's work. The evidence given at this man's trial shows clearly enough what the Maharaja's power was. His troops turned out as one man. Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery came pouring up in a mass all equally eager to join in the slaughter of the English. As the Durbar Vakeel afterwards told Colonel Durand, with the view of justifying his master, "the lines were empty." For three days after the attack Holkar could not even bury the dead. Until the 4th of July, when the Maharaja first visited the Residency, the bodies of the men and women murdered by his Cavalry lay about his city of Indore. According to Sir John Kaye the Maharaja was himself subjected to insolence and threats. This being the case what conceivable difference could it have made, if, when Colonel Durand saw the whole of Holkar's troops surging up to the Residency, he had been absolutely confident of the personal loyalty of Holkar himself? He "fled" not from Holkar but from Holkar's guns and sabres and muskets. An inkling of the distinction seems to dawn upon Sir John Kaye's mind when he writes: "But admitting that the sudden retreat was justifiable or even commendable, I can see nothing to justify the after-treatment of Holkar by the Acting Resident at Indore." It need hardly be pointed out that the possibility of such an admission, coupled with the assertion of the Maharaja's innocence, is wholly incompatible with the issue stated above—"Either the Maharaja was a traitor or the British Agent fled without good cause from Indore." I propose, therefore, to treat the two matters as they ought to be treated, separately; to show first that the "sudden retreat" was in fact not only justifiable, but commendable and necessary, and secondly that "the after-treatment of Holkar by the Acting Resident at Indore," was equally capable of being justified.

First, as regards the retreat. Sir John Kaye contends that it was "precipitate" and groundless, that Colonel Durand ought to have held on "a few hours" longer, that if he had done so the Maharaja



would have had time to "declare himself on our side," the European battery would have come up, the revolt at Indore would "most probably have been suppressed" and "there would have been no combination of Holkar's troops with the Mhow mutineers." It will not, I think, be necessary to delay long over this matter. As I have already shown Colonel Durand's fighting men consisted of fourteen gunners, and five Sikh troopers of the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry. Besides these he had 270 Bheels, who could not be induced to discharge their pieces even from the Residency windows, 150 troopers who could not be formed, and nearly 500 Contingent Infantry, who were threatening to shoot their officers. With this force he held his ground for nearly two hours, and retreated only when the last show of strength was about to be taken from him by the flight of the Cavalry; when the attack, at first hesitating and tentative, had become organised and overwhelming, and, he found surging up to surround the Residency, masses of Holkar's troops consisting of 1,400 Cavalry, 2,000 Infantry,\* and from 25 to 30 guns, besides any amount of armed rabble from the city.

But Sir John Kaye's contention is that Colonel Durand ought to have held on notwithstanding until the arrival of the European battery from Mhow. Now there are several circumstances which militate against this view. In the first place, even supposing that the call for help had safely reached Mhow, which was doubtful, the probability was that Hungerford would be unable to obey it. From first to last Mhow had been the point from which danger was apprehended. As Sir John Kaye himself remarks: "It is scarcely to be doubted that the sepoys of our own regiments at Mhow contaminated Holkar's troops at Indore." This was precisely Colonel Durand's view, and the natural conclusion was that the rising was a concerted one; that Hungerford was hard at work on his own account, if not already overwhelmed by the rush of an Infantry regiment and a wing of Cavalry upon his unsupported battery. That this apprehension was not altogether unfounded was afterwards shown. In a letter written in January 1858, certainly with no view of justifying Colonel Durand, Sir Robert Hamilton gives a lucid account of the progress of disaffection at Indore. After describing "how the Durbar troops became associated with the Contingents and the mutineers at Mhow," Sir Robert goes on as follows: "This was the position of the Indore plotters when news came of the Neemuch rising. "About that time a detachment had come from Mhow for treasure,

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\* They were afterwards computed higher figure. But I choose the lowest estimate. by the Indore Durbar itself and by others, themselves soldiers, at a far



"and it seems to have been arranged that the morning of the 1st of July should be the day on which the Mhow and Indore troops should simultaneously rise. To test the sincerity of Holkar's troops, it was decided that they should commence early at eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st. At the time appointed, Buns Gopal, with the men of the Maharaja, and Bujrung Pultans with their guns, commenced the attack." So Colonel Durand can hardly be blamed for supposing that help from Mhow was very doubtful. As a fact the treacherous Regulars waited to see the result of their machinations before committing themselves; and Hungerford was able to obey orders. But it was impossible to count on this, and after Holkar's troops had begun to cut off the retreat there was no time left to wait and see.

Supposing, however, that Colonel Durand had resolved to await the battery, and stake all on the chance of its arrival, what would have been his position? Hungerford could hardly come up before one o'clock. How was the defence to be maintained for two hours and a half against the increasing masses of the enemy? If Holkar's troops had consisted of Cavalry and Infantry only, the thing might perhaps have been done. Could it possibly have been done against an overwhelming force of Artillery? It afterwards transpired that Hungerford left Mhow at a slow trot, and never mended his pace. He would not have been at Indore at this rate until four o'clock in the afternoon. Meanwhile for more than five hours Holkar's numerous guns, choosing their own position and getting their range with perfect impunity, would have been pouring a concentrated fire on the Residency building, and a rush on the part of the mutinous Contingent, or Holkar's swarming Infantry, would at any moment have overwhelmed the fourteen faithful gunners, and put an end to the defence. But even supposing that the Residency had still been standing and occupied when Hungerford's leisurely advance was completed; supposing that his unsupported guns had been able to burst through the attacking force and reach the little garrison, what could they have done beyond helping to cover a perilous retreat? With all Sir John Kaye's *esprit de corps* he surely cannot maintain that one European battery, with the aid of 270 Bheels, who declined to discharge their muskets, and perhaps 30 European officers and native gunners, could have attacked and defeated a force numbering, at the lowest computation, some 3,500 Cavalry and Infantry with a large superiority in guns, not to speak of the Contingent troops and the swarming city rabble.

At pages 344 and 345 of his book, after stating his views on the subject, Sir John Kaye quotes, what purports to be Colonel Durand's "answer." This is a letter to Lord Canning's Private Secretary in which Colonel Durand animadverts on certain incorrect statements published by the *Friend of India*. After stating



that the call for help reached Mhow at a quarter to ten, and describing the slowness of Hungerford's advance, Colonel Durand says: "It would have been four P. M. at least before he reached the Residency, for they did not canter out. I retired from the Residency after a two hours' cannonade about half-past ten." Upon this Sir John Kaye, abruptly breaking short Colonel Durand's "answer," proceeds to make the following point. "That is three-quarters of an hour after the call for the battery reached Mhow. Now the battery could not have been equipped, mounted, and brought down to Indore at full gallop in three-quarters of an hour. So it is clear that Colonel Durand did not await even the possibility of an arrival under the most favourable circumstances of Hungerford and his battery." Sir John Kaye's argument would have been fairer if he had allowed Colonel Durand to finish his sentence. It runs as follows: "As none of our men would fight, except the two Bhopal guns, the support of our guns and the defence of the Residency for five and a half hours would, had I tried to hold it longer, have depended upon the officers and European non-commissioned officers present, in all, telegraphic signallers included, from sixteen to twenty in number." Colonel Durand's "answer" was, not that he awaited the battery and that it did not come, but that he knew it could not arrive before one o'clock if it arrived at all; that, as a fact, it would not have arrived before four; that he had little chance of holding the Residency even up to the earlier hour; and that he must certainly, as it turned out, have been overwhelmed if he had attempted to do so. It is to be observed that Colonel Travers, commanding the troops, who earned his Victoria Cross among Holkar's gunners, never hinted at the possibility of prolonging the defence. Yet it was undoubtedly his duty to do so if he thought the retreat premature. The question was a purely military one.

Further comment with regard to the retreat itself would be superfluous. Before passing on, however, to the political question, there is one more point in Sir John Kaye's narrative which requires notice. On page 334 of his book, Sir John Kaye describes how Hungerford's advance was stopped midway by the arrival of a trooper of the Bhopal Cavalry who brought the news that Colonel Durand had evacuated the Residency. "The trooper added that Colonel Durand had not gone to Mhow because the cantonment was in Holkar's dominion, and an attack on our cantonments was meditated in the course of the night." This sentence is calculated to leave a wrong impression on the mind of the reader. Colonel Durand's manuscript memorandum, to which Sir John Kaye refers, shows clearly that the retreating force was not diverted from Mhow by the reasons here given. As I have already noticed

Colonel Durand did in fact order a retreat in that direction, but was unable to carry it out, because his troops refused to obey orders.

To turn now to the political aspect of the question, Sir John Kaye "can see nothing to justify the after-treatment of Holkar by the Acting Resident at Indore." Now I have no intention whatever of entering upon a discussion of Holkar's loyalty. There is happily no necessity for doing so. The justification of Colonel Durand's after-treatment of Holkar depends, not upon the proof of Holkar's bad faith, but upon the fact that that treatment itself was never harsh or hostile. To begin with, Colonel Durand certainly imagined that Holkar had thrown in his lot against us. But I have already enumerated some of the many circumstances which led him to entertain this belief, and I have shown that directly Holkar endeavoured to explain those circumstances, Colonel Durand wrote most fairly, and, indeed, favourably reviewing the Maharaja's excuses for his conduct. Nothing surely can be less inimical or indicative of the "antipathy" which Sir John Kaye most unjustly attributes to Colonel Durand, than the tone of the letter already quoted. If after writing that letter Colonel Durand still entertained a doubt as to the Maharaja's fidelity, and I am far from asserting that he did so, that doubt certainly amounted to nothing more than this, that at the beginning of the outbreak Holkar was playing a waiting game. Considering that Sir John Kaye himself expresses the same doubt with regard to all the Native Chiefs in India, he is hardly justified in blaming Colonel Durand for expressing it, if he did so, with regard to one. Nor is it reasonable to attribute to Colonel Durand's influence the refusal of a territorial reward. Holkar had a steady advocate in Sir Robert Hamilton, and he had perfectly impartial judges. Men like Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo, were surely capable of forming their own opinions. No misrepresentations on Colonel Durand's part would have kept Holkar out of his due. And it must be remembered that the refusal of a territorial reward is not necessarily equivalent to an imputation of disloyalty. It was confessedly in 1857 the Maharaja's misfortune to be powerless. He was not therefore in a position to render any conspicuous active service to the British Government. This fact is surely sufficient in itself to account for the withholding of a grant of territory. Indeed, the honours subsequently bestowed upon the Maharaja and the consideration invariably shown to him by the Government of India, do not seem consistent with the possibility of his being a "suspect." They are certainly inconsistent with the statement that the Maharaja was "sacrificed" to the justification of another.

I have already referred in passing to Sir John Kaye's account of what happened at Indore and Mhow immediately after



Colonel Durand had been driven out of the Residency. But that account is so calculated to mislead that it will be necessary to notice it a little more in detail. On page 336, *et seq.* of Sir John Kaye's book, will be found a vivid description of the behaviour of Captain Hungerford after the outbreak. The writer tells how that officer wrote to Holkar expressing his disbelief in the story of the Maharaja's disloyalty; how he was satisfied and assured by the Maharaja's answer; how he proceeded to take upon himself the diplomatic as well as the military control of affairs; to prepare himself for a month's siege at Mhow; to "establish himself as representative of the Governor-General in Holkar's dominion," and to open a correspondence with Lord Elphinstone in Bombay. The description winds up with the following sentences. "He 'did what he had no right to do' and he was afterwards severely 'rebuked by Durand. But History, rising above all official formalities, must pronounce that the men who did what they had no right to do were those who saved the British Government in India.'" Now I have no wish to say anything against Captain Hungerford's reputation as a military officer. He afterwards did good service with the Mhow column in western Malwa, and Colonel Durand spoke in his favor for brevet rank. But before this he certainly did nothing to merit the extravagant laudation bestowed upon him by "History." He was not strong before the outbreak when a rise of the Mhow troops was expected. He was not ready during the outbreak either in the morning or the evening of the 1st July. And he was injudicious after the outbreak. If the actual facts of the case be extracted from Sir John Kaye's glowing pages, they seem to amount to this,—that Captain Hungerford's contribution towards the salvation of India consisted in firing a few rounds of grape through the darkness at nothing in particular, in holding for a month a fort which was never threatened, and in writing a series of letters to, and about a suspected Native Chief, of whose loyalty he was in no position to judge.

A little further on Sir John Kaye proceeds to describe how Lieutenant Hutchinson was driven out of Bhopawur by the Amjhera mutineers and was reported a prisoner; how Captain Hungerford "promptly took upon himself the political responsibility" of allowing Holkar to rescue the party, and how Lieutenant Hutchinson "had such implicit confidence in Holkar's friendship" that he did not hesitate to place himself "under the protection of his troops." "And thus" as Sir John Kaye remarks "was Hungerford relieved from the political responsibility which he had undertaken with so much promptitude and acquitted himself of with so much address." Thus the Artilleryman, who unable to stir out of Mhow, and ignorant of Holkar's conduct before the rising,

had "established himself as representative of the Governor-General in Holkar's dominion," handed over the charge to an equally ignorant political assistant who was a fugitive "under the protection of Holkar's troops." It would be rather interesting to know what these gentlemen would have done if, while they were acquitting themselves so entirely to their own and Holkar's satisfaction, the man whom they were endeavouring to supplant had let the barrier of the Nerbudda drop behind them and allowed Woodburn to march off to Nagpore.

There is one more question taken up by Sir John Kaye which requires a passing notice. He refers to Colonel Durand's "argument, persistently repeated, that a native prince is responsible for the conduct of his troops;" and he cites the case of Dhar to show how "impolitic and unjust" such an argument was. Now, in point of fact, what Colonel Durand persistently argued was the necessity of holding native chiefs *primâ facie* responsible, which is something widely different. A loyal chief could easily produce evidence to rebut the presumption in his own case. Holkar himself, for example, produced such evidence, and it was immediately received with favour by Colonel Durand. But the presumption in itself is surely a reasonable one. The nominal Government of a state must be *primâ facie* responsible for the acts of its troops. The distinction between the view attributed to Colonel Durand by Sir John Kaye, and the view Colonel Durand actually held, is brought out by the very case cited, that of Dhar. Colonel Durand urged the sequestration of the State, not simply on the ground that the Dhar Durbar was responsible for the excesses of its mercenary troops, but because the Durbar had, as a fact, thrown in its lot with the mutinous soldiery and encouraged rebellion against the British power. The case has already been the subject of much discussion. As Sir John Kaye has thought fit to bring it up again, it may be as well to supplement his account by a short statement of the facts. Just after the news of the Meerut and Delhi tragedies reached Central India the Dhar Rajah died. He had adopted his younger brother, Anund Rao Puar, then about thirteen years of age. The boy was acknowledged as Rajah, and chose for his Dewan or minister one Ramchunder Bapojee, who had a thorough knowledge of English, had associated much with English officers, and was supposed to be in favor of our interests. Contrary to the well-known and repeated instructions of the British Government, this man commenced his career by enlisting large numbers of foreign mercenaries. As soon as the news of the Indore rising reached Dhar, a party of these mercenaries, joining with those of the Rajah of Amjhera, plundered the stations of Bhopawur and Sirdarpore, and burned the hospitals over the heads of the sick and



wounded. Returning to Dhar with their plunder they were met and honourably entertained by the young Rajah's uncle; and on the 31st of August they were in possession of the Fort. Six weeks later Captain Hutchinson, the Political Agent, reported that there was strong reason to believe that the Rajah's mother and uncle and other members of the Durbar were the instigators of the rebellion. The Durbar Agent gave him no trustworthy information, and had purposely deceived him on the nature of the Durbar's negotiations with the mutinous mercenaries, and the number of such men who had been enlisted. And the Durbar had received with attention and civility emissaries from Mundesore, which was the centre of the Mussulman rising. On receipt of this intelligence Colonel Durand dismissed the Dhar Agent who was in attendance upon him, with a message to the Durbar that they would be held responsible for what occurred. Then followed the march upon Dhar, and the occupation of the Fort. After the capture Colonel Durand ordered the Fort to be demolished, the State to be attached, pending the orders of Government, and charges to be prepared against the leaders and instigators of the rebellion. Consideration was to be shown to the Rajah on account of his youth, and to the Ranee on account of her sex. But the Dewan Ramchunder Bapojee, the Rajah's uncle, Bheem Rao Bhonsla and others, were carried prisoners to Mhow, and were to be tried for their lives. Shortly afterwards Sir Robert Hamilton returned from England and resumed charge of his office as Agent of the Governor-General. To his negligence is attributable the escape of these men from the punishment they had merited. They were never brought to trial; beyond a summary and unofficial enquiry nothing was done; and on the 29th November 1858, without the knowledge of the Supreme Government, and in spite of the orders issued for their trial, of which Government had approved, they were permitted quietly to return to Dhar.

Three years later, when Sir Robert Hamilton had been relieved by the late Sir Richmond Shakespear, this neglect of orders was brought to light. Government could not then, of course, press any charges against the Durbar, and if it had desired to do so, there was little chance of evidence being procured. The record of the summary enquiry made in 1858 had been lost.

But the complicity of the Durbar in the rebellion was never questioned by any one in India, not even by Sir R. Hamilton, the champion of Dhar, till the 5th July 1858. It fell to Sir R. Hamilton to carry out the first orders for confiscation, and in doing so he did not hesitate to describe the Durbar as 'ungrateful and unfaithful,' and to declare that 'the treaty with the Dhar State has been completely abrogated by the act of that Durbar.' It may be noticed that the offence of Dhar was precisely the same

as that of Amjhera. The troops of both States conjointly plundered Bhopawur and Sirdarpore. The Rajah of Amjhera was hanged, and his territory incorporated with Sindia's dominions. No one has ever questioned the justice of his fate.

Such, as I have seen them publicly stated, were the facts of the Dhar case, which Sir John Kaye quotes as an exponent of Colonel Durand's mischievous views upon the responsibility of native princes. The action of the Home Government is well known. The despatch of the Court of Directors, cited by Sir John Kaye, which prevented the "unjust and impolitic" sequestration of the principality, was based on imperfect information. When the facts of the case were more fully reported in Lord Canning's letter of the 6th December 1859, after personal enquiry during his great progress through the Upper Provinces, which clearly established the complicity of the Dhar Durbar in the rebellion, the Home Government entirely concurred in the justice of the confiscation, but from 'merciful consideration' to the youth and apparent innocence of the young Rajah himself, decided to forego the extreme penalty. An outlying portion of the State was, however, sequestered and handed over to the Begum of Bhopal, as a reward for her faithful services, Her Majesty's Government being of opinion that it was "not right nor expedient that the principality of Dhar should wholly escape all penalties for the misconduct of those who directed its counsels and forces during the late events."

It would be impossible for me to notice here the many other defective or erroneous statements advanced by Sir John Kaye in this short chapter of his history: that Lord Elphinstone, "with all the facts before him," condemned Colonel Durand's retreat from Indore, that Colonel Durand had an "antipathy" for Holkar, and so on. As a fact, all Lord Elphinstone appears to have done, was to write a few days after the insurrection and assert Holkar's innocence on the strength of the reports received from the officers at Mhow. This was no slur on Colonel Durand, as Lord Elphinstone afterwards proved by personal assurances. I have already pointed out that Holkar's justification was not in the smallest degree inconsistent with that of the Acting Agent. As to the alleged "antipathy" Colonel Durand had been under three months at Indore when the troops rose, and had seen Holkar only twice. But it would be useless to notice every point of this kind. Nor would it serve any practical purpose to criticise Sir John Kaye's general imputations on Colonel Durand's character as a political officer, his intolerance and his want of consideration for the "down-trodden native princes and chiefs of India." Certain it is that I have received no warmer tributes to my father's memory than from some of these very princes and chiefs. However, this is a question which I have no wish to discuss. As I have



before observed Sir John Kaye draws a marked contrast between Colonel Durand and Sir Robert Hamilton. He says the two men were "extremely dissimilar," that they had "different characters and different opinions." No one who knew them both will be likely to dispute the assertion. For the rest every man has a right to his own opinion. Sir John Kaye believes that Sir Robert Hamilton's views were altogether right, and Colonel Durand's altogether wrong. In his case the belief is not incomprehensible. It arises partly from personal friendship for Sir Robert Hamilton, and partly from the fervour with which he has espoused the "predominant theory" that all our troubles came upon us "because we were too English." Colonel Durand "could not orientalise himself." Therefore he was a bad political officer.

The peculiar tone of Sir John Kaye's narrative is doubtless due to the same causes. Where he is not writing about anything connected with Sir Robert Hamilton or the defects of our national character, he can be just and even generous to the memory of Colonel Durand. But where Sir Robert Hamilton and the predominant theory are concerned, he can be neither the one nor the other. Fired by an enthusiastic desire to right what he conceives to be Holkar's wrongs, and imagining, without reason, that the justification of Holkar implies the condemnation of Colonel Durand, he allows himself to be carried away into a good deal of inconsistency and bad taste. He accuses "a man brave in battle" of making a groundless and precipitate retreat, and a "high-minded conscientious English gentleman" of justifying an act of poltroonery by a systematic course of mis-representation. The accusation is not, on the face of it, a probable one. How far it is borne out by facts I must leave others to judge.

H. M. DURAND.

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## ART. X.—AMONG THE CONTINENTAL JAILS.

(Concluded.)

AS the first article under the above heading was published six months ago, it may be necessary to re-state that the writer's intention has been, not to enter into minute details of prison and convict management, so as to deter readers, "not in the department," from a subject in itself not unforbidding, but simply to put in writing what would have attracted the notice of an unprofessional visitor to the Continental jails. He also maintained that discipline is more severe in many respects in India than in any other civilized country, not only from the privation of all luxuries, but from the excessive punishments generally obtaining in the former. A kindly critic of the first article would saddle the writer with a burden of proof which he had not been pledged to carry. His facts are allowed to plead for the inference which is their legitimate sequence. Whether the severer discipline of the Indian jails has a corresponding effect on the incidence of crime, is another question, about which there may be as many different opinions as there are people to hold them. The truth is, that imprisonment, be it severe or otherwise, is only one factor and a smaller one than is generally supposed in the prevention of crime. Early training, the massing of population, the want of efficiency, or *per contra*, great detective ability in the police, dearness of provisions, social habits and ethnological peculiarities, determine the number of criminals. Comparative statistics are incapable of embracing the Irish woman, who was about 257 times convicted for petty thefts and drunken rioting, in the same page with the wretched *Dome* who is working out his seventh sentence for theft, but was probably never drunk in his life, certainly never riotous. A Hindoo, even if he had the same brutal disposition has no clogs like the Lancashire rough, to kick his wife with, nor has he ever employed the flexors of his fists except as the prehensile organs nature had intended them to be. Even in his *lathee fights*, when his blood is warm, the noise is out of all proportion to the execution.

Supposing, however, that a comparison could possibly be instituted between the Teutonic criminal and his Aryan brother, it supports the writer's position. In Benares, which is criminally about the worst district in Northern India, re-committals average 21 per cent. of the prison population; Agra and Allahabad only 6 and 5 per cent. respectively. In Belgium, where the system is partly cellular, re-committals are 78 per cent. The "Moabit" in



Berlin receives 38 per cent. and the associated prisons no less than 88. In the Mountjoy convict establishment in Ireland, 201 prisoners were admitted in 1873, the last annual report to hand. Out of these only 31 were sent for the first time, giving an average of about 85 per cent. of habitual criminals. Seventeen of the Mountjoy convicts were in prison more than 15 times each, and thirteen of them had been over 10 times each. In India, among thousands of prisoners, only one man came under observation who had been more than seven times convicted. As has been stated, within certain limits the nature of the discipline will be seen to have little effect in enabling us to compare the criminal statistics of races so widely divergent as those of Europe and India. Even taking the same country as a basis of comparison, it does not follow that the discipline in Benares is lax, because there are 21 per cent. and severe in Agra or Allahabad, because there are only about 5 or 6. The conditions that determine the prevalence of crime cannot be formulated—each district must have, so to speak, its own criminal biography. We are far from undervaluing the deterrent effect of a stern prison regime, we only desire if possible to assign to it its proper place as a preventive.

An order from Lord Lyons, countersigned by the Minister of the Interior and the Chief of Police, admitted me into the French prisons. In Paris there are eight, but only three belong to the advanced system. The *Mazas* was the first visited. It is on the cellular plan, the barracks radiating from the centre like the spokes of a wheel. In this centre on the second floor is the chapel. The prison is not unlike that of Pentonville, but is intended more particularly for untried prisoners. The authorised diet is meagre in the extreme—about a pound and a half of bread with thin soup and vegetables, to which is added, on Sunday, a quarter of a pound of meat. This fare can, however, be supplemented by the prisoner's friends, and a canteen Scale is hung up in each cell detailing the prices at which extras, such as wine and tobacco, can be obtained. If an under-trial prisoner chooses to work, the half of his earnings are put down to his credit, and a certain moiety of this can be expended in the canteen. The cells are 10 feet by 6, and about 8½ feet high. They are warmed by hot air pipes in winter and ventilated in summer. Strict silence is enforced, not even the warder on duty being allowed to talk to the prisoners, unless there is some urgent necessity. At the time of my visit there were about 1,100 in confinement; but there is ample accommodation for 1,500. The administrative staff comprises a governor, deputy governor, 7 head warders and over 80 ordinary warders. There are 5 soldier sentries by day and 11 at night, while a reserve of 40, armed with Chassepot



rifles, are stationed at the main-gate. Altogether there are about 100 soldiers on duty connected with the prison. The industrial pursuits are various—tailoring, shoe-making and mat-making—articles of jewellery, brass and iron turning. The chapel, as has been mentioned, is in the centre, and the cell doors are so opened, that each inmate can hear the service and witness the mass without leaving his cell or seeing any of his fellow prisoners.

How they avail themselves of the spiritual food supplied to them may be judged from the description of a visitor who had the curiosity to investigate the subject—"I wished" he says "to see how they listened to the mass, so I ran along one gallery and looked into thirty-two cells. Three prisoners were reading the service, one standing up, with *head covered*, was staring at the altar; another was on his knees—one more, having opened his prayer-book for show, held in his hand a pamphlet which appeared to be a pictorial Magazine—while there was yet another who, leaning his arm on the shutter of his door with his head sunk in his arms, was weeping and sobbing so violently that his whole frame shook. The remaining 26 sat at their tables working or reading." Among the thirty-two, therefore, that our inquisitor visited, there was only one whose heart was touched with the feeling of repentance—if repentance it could be called—seeing that the aesthetic memories of youth could have been brought by the association of ideas into the cell of a criminal who may have had a gentle up-bringing and a sensuously cultivated mind. Remorse for a false step not to be regained is widely different from repentance. The ordinary *Mazas* jail-bird is not to be reformed, nor will he be even affected by the diapason of an organ or the chanting of a Gregorian hymn rolling along the familiar corridor. He takes them as a portion of the prison programme, which his French "beak" (as he probably calls him) has assigned to him. The most philosophical "evolutionist" does not manifest more good-natured indifference to the homilies of an old school puritan, than our professional law-breaker does to the priest and his acolytes. His warders are paid and so are his spiritual advisers—they are all fused into one system of restraint, hard work and a monotonous life. In every Christian nation, be it Catholic or Protestant, religious ordinances are more or less depended upon as a lever to raise the prisoner's moral tone, but if he has arrived at adult age to be effective, it must be complemented by the more powerful influence of a deterrent discipline. If an adult is ever to be converted from the evil of his ways by moral suasion, it must be by the voluntary enthusiasm of those who unselfishly desire his good and not by the usual "Sunday services." The cases are, however, few and far between, for it is only in "revival" periods that we hear of converted thieves and prize-fighters. The kernel of good within the convict's heart is so

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encrusted with an accumulation of evil influences, increasing with his years and "professional" experience, that the mild tapping of conventional services has as little effect upon him as a pistol bullet could have upon an iron-clad!

As an inducement to good behaviour after a certain term of the convict's sentence is expired in the *Mazas*, he is promoted to be a work-master. His cell door is left open and he is allowed a certain amount of range within the corridor. Each cell has a gas-burner, which is turned off from the outside something like the lamp in a ship cabin. It has a work bench, a bed which folds up and a water closet. Except for the hour's exercise, the prisoner has no occasion to leave his cell, nor is he allowed to do so for the first eighteen months of his confinement. He can communicate his wishes to the warder on duty by pulling a short bell-rope in the inside, which causes an iron blade to fall down with a noise which re-echoes in the still corridor. If the warder is unable to supply the convict's wants, he makes them known to the watchman in the central hall by means of a speaking trumpet, and he, in his turn, communicates by the same method to the main office. The routine is silent, precise, and grim; and if the prisoner does not commune unto edification with his own spirit it is not from the distraction of any sight or sound. In addition to a falling shutter for the admission of food, there is in the door a round opening about an inch in diameter covered with coloured glass and called in jail slang the "Judas." Through this the warder can watch his victim unseen. For the first month or so of the prisoner's confinement until he has grown callous, nothing so aggravates his position as the consciousness of this "awful eye" from which he cannot by any possibility hide himself. He lives in a state of constrained tension knowing that his every movement is watched by his suspicious keeper who, with muffled feet, paces the gallery corridor. If the convict should be so rash as to rebel against constituted authority, within a few yards there are dark cells with only straw mattresses, where a three days' confinement on bread and water, will make him heartily sick of the company of his own thoughts.

After work hours, books are allowed to the better behaved among them, but the "standing" literature of the cell is a canteen price list and large extracts from the jail rules. Some of them have photographs in frames of their own carving, and others have their walls ornamented with pictorial cuttings from an illustrated paper. Following the instincts of his extramural life, the convict, for the moment forgetting his position, to "drive dull care away," breaks out into a lively whistle, but before he has concluded the second bar, the "awful eye" finds expression in a prohibition so peremptory, that the tune is suddenly



changed into a key more befitting the traditions of the place. The expedients that convicts often adopt as a change from the monotony of their life often partake of the ludicrous. The writer knew an eccentric Irishman, who used in the solitude of his cell to amuse himself at the oddest hours by practising national jigs in his fetters. He had gained a certain proficiency in the art as the "clinking" of the irons kept time wonderfully well with the rapid movements necessitated by the nature of the dance. When caught "in the act" of course he was punished, but his own opinion was that he did nobody any harm by an amusement so essentially unaggressive. He had not then learnt that imprisonment and amusement are incompatible terms in the minds of the prison authorities.

In the *Mazas* only the legal adviser of the untried prisoner is allowed to enter the cell, for relations and ordinary visitors there are *parloirs* provided. These contain stalls with an iron grating in front, which face similar stalls for visitors, with a passage between for a sentry, who keeps a watchful eye that no papers or other contraband articles can be passed to or from the prisoner. The less impulsive Hindoo requires no such elaborate parlour. He squats *more suo* within three yards of his visitors who squat opposite to him, and the conversation is carried on, as a rule, in a very undemonstrative tone of voice. At times, however, the old women raise the same exaggerated "coronach" they are paid to practise at funerals, and the student of comparative psychology is left in doubt as to the real depth of Oriental feeling.

The cook-house of the *Mazas* is in a separate enclosure. To facilitate the removal of the rations, there are little trucks on rails which run into the ground-floor of the barracks. These trucks are laden with trays containing pans of soup and loaves for distribution. The trays are hoisted by pulleys to the several floors. On the top of the balustrades, that run along the galleries, the trays are carried on lighter trucks and as they pass each cell the food is handed in through the shutter in the door. The routine is speedy—there is no confusion or noise, and within ten minutes the eleven hundred prisoners are provided with the authorized allowance. The kitchen appears like the engine-room of a factory, the food being cooked by steam. The *chef* gave us a rehearsal of the process. He turned a number of stop-cocks, sending a full blast of steam into a boiler of hard potatoes and a "gentler breath" into another containing an *olla prodrida* of vegetables. There is a stewards' department to look after the quantity and quality of the food and its proper distribution; but all the financial arrangements, contracts and accounts, are settled in the office of the Chief of Police.

In the yards between the wings, where factories are built in Indian circular prisons, are the *preaux*, enclosures divided by walls



into twenty courts, where the convicts are allowed to take solitary exercise. The "eye" is still fixed upon them, however, for there it is, elevated on a central platform "like a priest surveying all" but armed with an authority that is not to be gainsaid. The prisoner neither sees nor is seen by any of his comrades going or returning, and even the "eye" cannot rest long upon him unless his conduct is eccentric. After an hour of this listless "exercise" he is brought back to the familiar cell there to be locked up till the same hour next day. From the day of his incarceration he is practically lost to the world. His name is merged into Arabic numerals, and there it remains till his sentence is expired and he is restored to some social circle that knew him by a Christian name. The annals of his prison life, like those of the poor, are short and simple. At grey dawn the bell tolls the *reveille* when he must be up and doing. His bed must be slung and the bedding neatly folded—his comb and brush, mug and glass, are to be placed in the corner cupboard, and he himself within half-an-hour standing to "attention" within his cell door. His tools and work for the day are handed over to him, and he resumes his last evening's employment till breakfast time. The miniature truck is heard approaching his door, down falls the shutter, the warder, without a word, gives him his beaker and loaf, shuts up his cell and is off to the next. Such is day by day the unvarying routine; excepting on Sundays, when he is allowed to hear mass and read all day. On Sunday evening he has a warm bath in a large room divided into little bathing cells smaller even than those on board ship. There is a biographical dictum to the effect that happy is the life which is uneventful; tried by the prison standard the rule does not seem without its exceptions.

From the *Mazas* we went to the "Petite Roquette," the juvenile prison in the *Rue de la Roquette*. It faces the prison of the condemned which is on the other side of the same street. This juvenile prison is like a miniature *Mazas* and has cell accommodation for about 500 boys. It is not necessary that a boy should commit a positive breach of the law to gain admittance. If a parent brings his son before a magistrate and swears that he is incorrigible, he is straightway sent for any period up to a year. This system of parental training by proxy is liable to abuse. A widower, intending to re-marry, finds this a feasible way of disposing of a mischievous youngster who might be the means of producing disunion in his future household. Dissipated fathers and heartless step-mothers frequently accuse the boys unjustly, and the enquiry regarding the truth of the charges made is not always rigidly followed out.

The jail system is a strictly solitary one. Excepting his warders, instructors, chaplain, and, occasionally visitors in the



*parloir*, the boy has no associates. In chapel and school the seats are enclosed in boxes, from which the pupils are seen by the chaplain and schoolmaster, but they cannot see each other. They describe each other, not by their features which they cannot have seen, but the tone of the voice and by individual peculiarities in pronunciation. The nicknames are based accordingly. One boy may be known in the schoolboy directory as *le criard*, another as *le toureau*, while a third is called by the French equivalent of "Lispy." The governor seemed on short acquaintance to be exceptionally well adapted for rather a delicate position. The unvarying stringency and modified "terrorism" that adult habitués require, would only develop cowardice and deception in a boy, qualities least suitable to make his way afterwards in the world. One of them had been ill and fell into a fit of convulsive crying, which the governor did not pass by, as not in accordance with the traditions of penal discipline, but cheered the boy up and we left him smiling through his tears.

Many Anglo-Indians will find the following assertion rather hard of belief. There is less truthfulness in the Parisian juvenile convict than in his less sophisticated Indian brother criminal. Many of these boys flatly denied the crimes laid to their charge, although their faces and character belied their statements. The Indian boy will, as a rule, frankly confess to having stolen a *lotah* or cloth or money as the case may be, but generally with the qualifying excuse that he was hungry. Not so, however, the adult Indian convict. It seems as if with the Hindoo the advent of puberty determined the limit of truthfulness; as if coincident with the appearance of "down" upon his cheeks, came the disappearance of honest trust from his heart. Taking the convicts' own estimate of their characters stranger would fancy that a jail was a collection of persecuted saints. I have frequently amused myself by enquiring of a new admission. "Well my good man what have you done?" Among hundreds of such an enquiry I could count on my fingers the occasions on which the reply was not "O, I did nothing, Sir, but my enemies laid a net for my destruction and now, alas, they have succeeded." Even the "habitual" finds the same statement ready to his lips, although he is fully convinced not a word of it is believed. Perhaps this unburdening may soothe his conscience if he has such a thing, if not, he has plaintively asserted his innocence before the jail world, and will endure his punishment like a martyr.

The boys in the *Roquette* are exercised in the same kind of yard as in the *Mazas*. By way of inducement to exercise their limbs there are hoops provided, but by the time the momentum is fully established the hoop comes into collision with the wall of the

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preau, and the amusement is therefore feeble, as compared with what the boy had been accustomed to.

After a certain period, varying from six to eighteen months, the boys, when not restored to their relations, are drafted to the agricultural reformatory of Mettray near Tours. This colony, as it is euphemistically called, was established about thirty-six years ago, by a Parisian barrister, named Demetz. The young delinquents are taught agriculture and various rural handicrafts, and this is combined with such a carefully organized discipline and up-bringing, as to modify, to a great extent, their want of home-training and healthy associations. Out of about 2,000 boys who have passed through Mettray, only some three per cent. lapse into confirmed and hopeless criminals. If these boys had been left in association with adult criminals probably the same percentage would not have been saved.

Opposite the juvenile prison, as has been mentioned, is the *Depôt des Condamnés* with accommodation for about 400 prisoners. In spite of its name and ghastly associations, it seems to possess certain amenities over other common place jails, and is, therefore, rather a favorite with gentlemen convicts. Those condemned for crimes of a less heinous description may, on application to the Minister of the Interior and by the payment of about 200 francs per annum, obtain permission to pass their sentence here. Nearly half the inmates have nothing to do, as there is no demand in the labour market and they lounge in the yards, or, in the cold weather, crowd into the *chauffoir*. Quite apart from the others, there are cells for prisoners condemned to death, in one of which the notorious Troppmann was confined. On the 24th May, 1871, this prison was the scene of the most revolting tragedy of the Communist anarchy. In a cell, still pointed out, the Archbishop of Paris spent his last night on earth, and the place where he was forced to stand when fired at by the ruffian mob is enclosed by an iron railing, with the following inscription on a black marble slab: "*Respect a ce lieu, témoin de la mort des nobles et saintes victimes, de XXIV Mai 1871,*" with their names appended in full. It is a coincidence in appearance like a befitting retribution, that the scene of these "noble and saintly victims'" murder, is close to the *Pere la Chaise*, where the Communists made their last stand and were shot down in hundreds, like hungry wolves as they were, by the avenging army of Versailles.

The other prisons remained unvisited as they belonged to the ancient type and were only retained on account of financial considerations. From enquiries it appears that they are something like the Indian Central prisons having a certain proportion of cell accommodation, and the prisoners working in association during the day. There is also a system of classification in force. For ins-



tance, in the female prison, St. Lazare, there are three sections, built quite apart; the first containing under-trial, ordinary convicts, and young girls under 16, all the classes separate. The second section is given up to women of a professionally bad character, who are sentenced for breaches of sanitary or police regulations. There are also *pistole* cells containing each two or three beds where female prisoners, who are able to pay for it, can enjoy comparative comfort. The juvenile convicts are locked up in separate cells.

It is difficult to suggest an improvement on the French cellular system, except that it may be modified by careful association as in the Plotzensee, where better work can be carried on. The great expense prevents the adoption of either system in this country. Moreover, the conditions of race, climate, and social customs are so widely different from those of the West, that few of the adjuncts of civilized discipline are applicable. There are no words in our language capable of expressing any comparison between the *choola* of an Indian prison and the steam kitchen ranges of the Mazas. One might as well endeavour to compare a bullock hackery to a passenger train. A *parloir* is as unnecessary as worsted stockings, while a native official would not peril his caste, and therefore his eternal salvation, by applying his lips to a speaking trumpet. Still a beginning might be made by building large solitary cells wherein "the habitual" might chew the "cud of reflection" and work hard, during the cold weather months in any case.

It may not be uninteresting to devote a paragraph or two to show what wonderful advances have been made even in India within the last thirty years. Prior to that period, road-making was the only punitive labour exacted from prisoners, because, forsooth, weaving and carpet-making was supposed to interfere with their caste. They were paid a certain sum of money for their maintenance and, like the Egyptian prisoners of the present day, enjoyed the luxury of making their own bargains. Each man cooked his own food and took his own time over it, and the *hookah* relieved his *ennui*, when he did not choose to work. Never was there congregated a happier set of labourers than the prisoner-gangs upon the roads. They laughed and they sang and they joked with their guards, with each other, and with passers by, and seemed to find the fulness of enjoyment in the daily picnic. That this description is not exaggerated, is painfully conclusive from the fact, that the value of their labour fell short by 22 rupees each man per annum of the additional expenditure involved in paying for more guards when working extramurally. How to employ them punitively and yet profitably became the vexatious problem. The prison Committee of 1838, with Lord Macaulay as one of its members despairing of solving the ques-



tion, recommended that tread-mills should be largely adopted, and that high caste prisoners should not be compelled to work at a mechanical trade "as that would inflict a dreadful punishment, not only on himself, but on every member of his family." Experience has since taught us that within jail limits caste is a very elastic institution, and that a plunge in the holy Ganges or Jumna can purify the heaven-born Brahmin from greater defilements than manufacturing Persian carpets. In any well disciplined jail it is only the fear of the lash that prevents many of the highest castes from throwing away a useless encumbrance for the sake of the comparative ease and ampler food of the jail sweepers. The messing system introduced very tentatively in 1841, was the first and most effective blow struck at the root of the abuses that existed. The guards were bribed and relations at home supplied with the money, which a benevolent Government had intended for the prisoner's food. We do not feel surprised, therefore, that the messing system was received in a very rebellious spirit not only by the prisoners, but by those in charge of them. In Chuprah, Behar, and Allahabad, the prisoners rose *en masse*, but were speedily and very properly shot down into submission.

There is no occasion to dwell long on the seemingly minor, but very essential improvements that have since been effected. The establishment of Central Prisons and the appointment of Inspectors-General, the Superintendence entrusted to medical officers, who had ample leisure for the work, the introduction of convict warders and the mark system, cleanliness, order, and discipline, replacing filth, idleness and disorder. These are some of the phenomena of the Kosmos that has arisen from the chaos of thirty years ago. An officer of wide experience as a superintendent, told me that even within the last twenty-five years no European would care to trust himself within a prison enclosure, but would satisfy his curiosity by staring through the iron bars as if he were in a Zoological garden. A prisoner in those days would no more be trusted with a razor than with a loaded rifle or the key of his own cell.

How much the North-West Provinces has contributed to this advancement in criminal management may be found in Howell's "Note on Indian Jails" the most interesting book on the subject in Anglo-Indian literature.

Before crossing the channel, we may remark that many who have not visited the French prisons have a low estimate of them, because notorious political offenders, like Marshal Bazaine, contrive to make their escape. These critics forget that there are two keys that will open almost any prison door. One is gold, the other, patriotism. In a period of strong political excitement some of the guards insist, however wrongly, upon being citizens as well as State servants and act upon their convictions irrespective of



their duty. No one speaks scornfully of British Prisons, because Head Centre Stephens walked leisurely away from Dublin. The "Dugal creature" opened his chief's cell door, flung his keys at the gaoler's head, and would rather have his hand chopped off than turn a lock on his feudal master.

A word of irrelevant advice to the reader. If an exile for some years and, therefore, a comparative stranger to London, be provided with a list of fully half-a-dozen hotels in the same or contiguous postal divisions. If you arrive during a period of social excitement (for example the Czar or the Shah) you would find it much more pleasant to drive into the solitary dâk bungalow of Doodoo in Rajpootana, than into the great city of London. You try the Charing Cross Hotel as the nearest and when repulsed from want of room, you drive to and fro with a top-laden cab, cold and hungry and irritable, and are fain to deposit yourself and boxes in the first door-way that has the virtue of hospitality, if no other. An owl in a tropical sunshine is not more bewildered and dazed and helpless than you are, that is, if you are as I have been. You have left the land of contemplation, where the *dolce far niente* is exalted into a science, and you are thrown into the midst of men hurrying to and fro upon the earth as if life were a foot-race and the prize was to the swiftest.

A description of Millbank and Chatham is reserved for the close of this article, only remarking *en passant* the radical change within the last few years in the social status of the English prison governors. It is not so very long ago that the governor was called "gaoler" and was only a slight remove in public estimation from the hangman. In former days the prisoner was contracted for, and the gaoler could, and did, even more than the modern hotel-keeper, exact high charges for indifferent fare, while his guests had not the option of moving elsewhere for more suitable accommodation. A large proportion of the present governors are military officers, who have brought their professional training and *esprit de corps* to bear upon the routine of prison economy. The Governor of Chatham was a Bombay Cavalry Officer; one of his deputies is a Captain, and so are the deputies of Millbank and Perth. A man who at present rules over an Indian district was an unsuccessful applicant for the governorship of an English county jail. These instances are mentioned to show how singularly a once despised profession has risen in social estimation.

Leaving London early on a July morning the writer arrived late at night in Cologne *en route* for Berlin. The cathedral city is too well known to require description. The anatomical relics of the Magi and the virgin companions of our own St. Ursula were reverently gazed at, and the clerical father's enthusiasm became



epidemic even among the sceptical. Every moment however, was one of impatient restraint, until we were on the broad breast of the Rhine "mine own imperial river" which

"—— nobly foams and flows,  
The charm of this enchanted ground  
And all its thousand turns disclose  
Some fresher beauty varying round,  
The haughtiest breast its wish might bound  
Through life to dwell delighted here."

It is not the volume of water nor the mighty force embodied in it that exercises the fascination, that "throws its spell" over those who have often sailed upon the still mightier Ganges. The colour is much the same in both, a muddy brown, not the rich Cerulean of the Arve and the Jumna. Its loveliness is not in itself, but in its *entourage*, winding amid vine-clad banks crowned with rugged towers most of which were ivy-clad and grey with age before Tamerlane invaded India. Bonn and Coblentz and Mayence, have had whole pages devoted to them in the written history of the world at a time when no one save savans can tell whether Brahmans, Buddhists or Aborigines inhabited the banks of the great Indian rivers. Therein lies the charm of historical scenery. It is not so much the mere objective existence of castles, crags and vineyard slopes that imprints an impression of freshened interest. It is the story of the people who have lived in and upon them; the romance of their lives, when life could have its romance before barons and baronial church dignitaries, were hammered into the same humble submission to law and social order as the very lowest of their feudal serfs. The castle of Drachenfels is now as still as a graveyard, except when invaded by prying travellers; but in the days of Count Roland the Crusader, no boat could have crossed its river base as we did without a challenge from the mail-clad warder. Will Calgong or Monghyr, or Prayag call up the enthusiasm kindled by the island of Nonnenwerth, whose nunnery was founded in the age of tradition, and in whose peaceful seclusion, uninvaded by steamers and their deck-loads of hurrying tourists of every kindred, tribe, and tongue the "peerless Hildegund" found a refuge for her sorrows and her youth, leaving behind her a story of faithful adherence to "truth and dear affection" which has been embalmed by the genius of Schiller?

But the Rhine is not the Berlin jail, and as the writer was almost as impatient to get in as its inmates to get out, he left the steamer at Bingen and took a through tricket, *vid* Frankfort to Berlin. Another word to the reader will introduce the second and last irrelevant advice. In any difficulty rather trust to good English

forcibly expressed than to bad German. The Frankfort guard, taking advantage of the meekness manifested in an imperfect knowledge of his guttural *patois*, after a deliberate survey of both ticket and physiognomy, decided upon placing me in a crowded and lower class of carriage than I had foolishly paid for. The solitary first-class compartment he had reserved for a spectacled compatriot of his own. It was not until the train was about to start that I discovered the imposition, when I sprang out, and in mother language more forcible than polite, expressed to the guard the unfavorable opinion I had suddenly formed of him. The compatriot, who could not have paid for his comforts, in disgusted dudgeon withdrew his wallets and I reigned in his stead for the rest of the journey.

Every one knows that Berlin is on the Spree, but those who have not visited it, are not perhaps aware how sluggish, foul and mephitic the river is. As you cross it from Unter den Linden, you ask the guide where the canal comes from, and are told in a consecutive sentence that it is the Spree and abounds in fish. Any one who has seen Hyde Park in the "season" or two miles of the Bois de Boulogne covered with gorgeous equipages four abreast, cannot fail to be struck with the "extraordinarily ordinary" appearance of the "upper-ten" of Berlin. He can count on the digits of one hand the number of handsome carriages that pass any given point of an evening between the Brandenburg gate and the bridge near the Museum. The magnificent wagon horses of Paris and London, that so delight even the non-equestrian Anglo-Indian, are painfully conspicuous by their absence in Berlin. The expression is deliberately written, for it is not a pleasant sight to see a huge lumber wagon drawn by an undersized horse of the species called in this country, "rat-tailed country-breds." The Germans, however, have taken a leaf from the Esquimeaux and make extensive use of dogs as a motive power for costermongers and country vegetable carts. As these dogs delight to bark and bite at other dogs similarly harnessed, they are necessarily kept muzzled. The breed is powerful and shaggy, not unlike the Bhutan dogs, but with a less treacherous expression.

The "credentials" mentioned in the former article, were presented at the Ministry of the Interior for permission to visit the jails. The conceited officials disdaining any assistance in translating the paper presented to them, transposed the writer's official title of Surgeon, Bengal Forces, into Surgeon of Marines. As the writer was as ignorant of the transposition as they were of his belonging to the land service, the mistake might have led to awkward results. When giving some details of Indian prison management to the Deputy Governor of the Plotzensee, he enquired how I could have obtained such varied jail experiences



when serving with the Marines? When we came into an explanation of the mistake, we had much pleasant converse about bureaucratic self-sufficiency among other subjects.

The first visit was paid to the Neue Strafgefängniss situated on the south bank of the Berlin and Spandau canal near the Plotzen Lake. It is called by the towns people the Plotzensee, and is as yet only about half built. It forms an embodiment of the newest theories of prisons and prison management—that the State is to be repaid for the convict's expense, and that he himself is to learn habits of steady hard work which are to be the means of his moral reformation. Idleness, says the German theorist, is the *fons et origo* of all sins against property: teach the prisoner to work for a lengthened period, and the habit acquired in his confinement will become his second nature on release. The prison is to have accommodation for 1,500 convicts and the sanctioned estimates amount to nearly 40 lacs. A prison in India for the same number would be considered expensive if the net cost was more than 5 lacs.

The entrance gate-way is flanked by a pavilion on each side. In the one is a detachment of soldiers on duty, the other is a minor office for checking persons and property passing in and out of the main-gate. There is also a telegraph line connecting the prison with the city, with the view of speedily summoning armed assistance from the Chief of Police should occasion demand it. It ought to have been mentioned that the prison is more than half an hour's drive from Berlin, along a road as sandy and barren as any in the neighbourhood of Lahore. The sand is drifted into the same wave-like forms, and the vegetation is equally scraggy and inedible. Out of India such extreme barrenness is quite unexpected.

After entering the gate-way we pass through an open court tastefully laid out in flower beds with a fountain in the centre. Beyond it is the central block in which are the offices, chapel, school-room, &c. Right and left from this central block are corridors leading to long ranges of barracks three-storeys high from the middle of which smaller ranges spring, each side of the central block appearing like the letter "T" inverted. On one side of the main enclosure there is a prison for boys; the hospital occupies a corresponding position on the other side. The lower storey of the long range contains coal stores, heating apparatus, blacksmith's forges, bath-rooms, and dark cells for the refractory. On the upper floors are compartments of sizes, each containing from eight to thirty prisoners with workshops and lavatories. In the shorter ranges, represented by the upstroke of our inverted letter, are solitary cells, 120 already built, each 15 feet long by 9 broad, provided with gas, heating pipes and bell for calling the attention of the warder. It is also provided with a water closet, flushed by a self-

acting apparatus. At the time of my visit there were 850 prisoners guarded intermurally by 50 warders. Among the prisoners was the Editor of the *Germania* (I was told) an Ultramontane paper, who was confined for his violent attacks on the ecclesiastical policy of Prince Bismarck. He was not treated as an ordinary prisoner, but allowed to walk in the gardens behind the office with his visitors, and to wear his own clothes. He has since been a second time convicted for the same offence, and the circulation of his paper has increased enormously in consequence. Verily, even political martyrdom hath had its reward for this tall long-haired man of thirty-five.

The Plotzensee system is unique in one respect, the prisoner's labour is contracted for. He is handed over to the contractor in the factory, who teaches him and supplies materials for the work. In the workshops devoted to picture frames and billiard tables, there was a foreman in civilian clothes instructing and directing the prisoners. For the first month or so the contractor receives the prisoner's service *gratis* if he is ignorant of any trade, after that period the Government is paid from four annas upwards for his daily work. Even now in its rudimentary stage the labour refunds about a third of the gross cost besides the allotment of another third to the prisoner's credit, part of which (two silbergoschen about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  annas) he may expend in such material comforts as beer, cheese, and snuff. Every man must work be his term long or short. The latter are mostly engaged in punching out ornamental paper borders for confectioners' *bonbons* or in common printing with a stamping machine. As the prison beer costs only a half-penny per pint a little money goes a long way in supplying it. One cannot say much for its "body" which is said, however, to improve by keeping, but which the prisoner, of course, cannot do. Tobacco smoking is strictly forbidden, but unlimited snuffing is allowed consistently with the state of his conduct and finances. Deprivation of full diet and snuff in the dark cells, is the severest punishment awarded for gross misconduct. The warders not being allowed to smoke on duty take snuff as only Frederick the Great could do, in pinches huge and sonorous. A garrulous old warder in the "Moabit" prison tapped his "mull" with the solemn precision of a Scotch highlander, and offered the writer a pinch in parting as a proof of his unexpressed opinion that, upon the whole he approved of his visitor.

Even the laundry of the Plotzensee affords an interesting study of mechanical appliances. Huge presses of clothing run out upon rails and are raised bodily by winch and pulleys to the upper floors for the distribution of their contents. The clothes, after being washed, are placed in a hollow cylinder which is made to



revolve an incredible number of times per minute, and the centrifugal force drives out the particles of water through perforations in the sides of the cylinder. After a few minutes of this whirling motion the clothes are only a little damp when they are placed in a recess heated by means of hot air pipes. An hydraulic press used to be employed for the purpose of squeezing out the water, but it had the disadvantage of squeezing out all the buttons as well as the water.

As in India, all the "domestic work" is performed by the convicts. The clerks of the stewards, and administrative departments are convicts, others cook and bake the bread (each roll of which has its weight stamped upon it to facilitate distribution) some wash and sweep, others are stokers, gas-makers and gardeners. Among the industries carried on in the cells and workshops are picture-frames, upholstery of all kinds, printing, billiard tables, locks, brass work, shoe-making, tailoring and book-binding. In England, for obvious reasons lock-making is not a jail industry, in the Plotzensee they seem to have less distrust. On the prisoner's admission he is at first sent for two or three months to the solitary cells, where his character is quietly but minutely studied. If he is an incorrigible reprobate there he remains for the three years allowed by law, but if not, he is removed to a compartment containing convicts somewhat akin to himself in disposition. As I have mentioned, the dormitories vary in size, so there is no difficulty in applying the principle of selection. A man who has not lost the mental refinement of his education and home-training, is not forced to associate with vulgar roughs, who are wanting in every condition of humanity except its physical shape. The restraint of incarceration is to many, but a sip as compared with the draught of bitterness represented by daily association with a degraded thief. The law may be broken under an impulse of passion, which no more rough-hews the mind than it moulds the features like unto the "mug" of the professional house-breaker. In the Plotzensee an inmate is not considered a mere numeral to be manipulated like an arithmetical quantity, but a human being with a history character and hopes for the future, to be dealt with according to his individual case and the good of the body politic. If a man is to be simply *deterred* from a fresh commission of crime, argues the philosophical German, appoint a drill sergeant over him with detailed instructions to let him feel the yoke every moment of consciousness. Let his sleep be disturbed, let him drink the water of bitterness and eat the bread of affliction, let his work be heavy and his food light, and his whole prison life a burden grievous to be borne, and then your theories are carried out to their logical sequence. But, if you admit that a prisoner is not beyond the pale of reformation, your jail system must stand to him "*in loco*

*parentis*," and he must be treated according to his individual requirements. You can no more reform your criminal by sending him through a uniform prison mould, than you can make a sincere Christian by forcible attendance at a certain number of Christian services.

In India the field is too great and the labourers too few. In a large administrative staff there may be two or three whose motives are disinterested, but what are they among so many? If the head native official is a follower of the prophet, it is found that all the odour of sanctity in the jail is exhaled from his own co-religionists. Another, wiser in his generation, reserves his commendations for the mammon of unrighteousness, and the superintendent is driven in despair to regard, as the most hopeful case of punitive reform, the man who gives least trouble, and weaves an extra yard of cloth for his daily task. The Indian "habitual" is to be carefully excluded, however, from the application of any theory which has physical amenities for one of its conditions. The system in his case is to be deterrent in the sense of extracting as much hard, profitable work out of him as possible, for moral reform is hopeless and the fear of punishment the only motive that influences him. Like his brethren in the West, he cannot have the plea of starvation on his admission in a country where his stomach can be filled to repletion by the expenditure of one pice. He aims at more ambitious objects and finds himself (not much to his regret, unless he has had a hard time of it previously) in his "father-in-law's house" as the jail is called in the slang dictionary of the Hindoo.

The next prison visited was the Zellengefängniss or the "Moabit" as the guide called it. It is built on the model of the Pentonville prison, and is also pretty much the same in build as the Mazas. It has accommodation for 500 and every cell was occupied. Solitary confinement is restricted to three years unless the prisoner elects to remain alone for the whole period, which many of them do. I saw one who had spent six years in solitary confinement and he preferred to remain the other four in the familiar cell. There is no mark system as in England by which on account of hard work and good conduct a prisoner may obtain a fixed period of remission, but in exceptional cases, if his friends petition for his release and his conduct has been satisfactory, he may obtain a remission of nearly a fourth. The cells were 15 by 9 as in the Plötzensee and similarly provided. Each man's tools were handed out in the evening contained in a case so arranged that a glance would show if any one was missing. The beds were constructed so as to fold up into a work table during the day. Some had lathes as fixtures in their cells, others vices and stamping machines. In the French prisons there were boards at every



corner containing rosters of guards for duty and of prisoners detailed for every kind of work, school included. The Germans were less official. The only writing in the corridor was the prisoner's jail and class numbers on the cell doors. Each convict has three hours' schooling a week, and seats so arranged that they cannot see each other. In school chapel and at exercise in the solitary yards, each man wears a mask besides being obliged to remain ten paces distance from his comrades when going and returning. In all the German prisons the Würtemberg Control Watch has been introduced rendering it impossible for the night watchman to sleep on his post without detection. Smoking is forbidden here also, but almost every prisoner has a black *papier mache* snuff box on his work table. As I have mentioned in the former article, in England and India alone are tobacco and every dispensable luxury absolutely forbidden, and I have detailed some of the ingenious devices adopted in this country for supplying the illicit gratification, without the risk of a flogging. In India smoking was not forbidden till 1852, and in the light of wisdom after the event, it is amusing to recall the fact that the doctors violently opposed the withdrawal of the prisoner's beloved *chillum*, urging the probability of gastric and other complications as a result from an enforced abstinence from the habitual sedative.

A mere enumeration of the various industries pursued in the "Moabit" would fill nearly half a page of the *Calcutta Review*. After ordinary work hours the convict is allowed to pursue any study or art to which he has a partiality. Some are fond of languages, others affect mathematics or the applied sciences, while a few devote their spare time to drawing or carving on wood. Some have their cells ornamented with family photographs or engravings—others have, in addition, flower pots and bird cages, while a few clod-hoppers are content with the authorized "plenishings" worth about nine shillings, including bed and bedding.

The most serious objection that has been urged against the cellular system is, that it has an injurious effect on the convict's mental condition leading to lunacy or suicide. According to the "Moabit" statistics, however, the phlegmatic German is not the more inclined to "shuffle off this mortal coil" in that it is immured in a cell, for only four cases of suicide have occurred within the last seven years; and only two cases of permanent lunacy within the same period. The French *Mazas* does not show so favorably. According to M. Robin there were no less than 61 cases of suicide between 1850 and 1865. In the face of contrary results obtained in the German solitary prisons, it is hard to divide the responsibility between the system and the impulsive national character. Solitary confinement for any lengthened period with-



out occupation, is an experiment that has been too disastrous in its results to be ever again attempted in any civilized country. The prisoner sinks under the infliction, or becomes a drivelling idiot, either alternative not comprehended in his original sentence.

The theocratic city of Calvin has so fallen from its ancient estate as to possess two prisons. To a lover of the picturesque, however, jail inspecting alone on a first Continental trip would be misapplied enthusiasm, so the opportunity was taken to visit some noteworthy places between Berlin and Geneva. Did not the want of space forbid, the title of this article could be made sufficiently comprehensive to include a description of the quaint old town of Eisenach odorous of tanneries and breweries, and of factories of soap and oil, but having on a lofty wooded eminence in its neighbourhood the Castle of Wartburg, where Luther, as a prisoner, translated the Bible. Here, too, the legend goes, he put to ignominious flight no less doughty a foeman than the enemy of mankind himself by hurling an inkstand at his head. Have we not much wondered, as we sat in Luther's chair, at the singular re-productive power of the ink stain on his study wall, for although pieces of the stained plaster have been taken away for generations by pious pilgrims, there it remains like the widow's cruise of oil, not in the least diminished in size or colour by the daily process of spoliation. It would be opening a door for historical scepticism to nurse the suggestion, that the grim custodian replenished the loss by a splash from his own inkhorn, were it not that his services, as keeper of the Lutheran relics, did not go unrequited in silbergroschen. With much more enthusiasm was a donation given to a poor organ-grinder, who on the battlements of Wartburg ground "Ye banks and braes of bonnie Doon" in the midst of his limited musical repertoire. We would fain dwell on Heidelberg, Baden-Baden, and Carlsruhe, the sleepy old capital of the Duchy, built like the *Mazas*, but with a palace for the nave, where a cab is not to be seen in the streets, and every fourth man is a soldier. But we must be off, after our usual Sunday rest, to Bâle the gateway into Switzerland from the North. No one remains, if he can help it, more than a night at Bâle, and the two hundred who dined with us at the "Three Kings" were replaced by the same number next evening. The table talk was of glaciers, passes and peaks, of guides, mules, and Alpenstocks, of daring feats of mountain climbing and of hair-breadth escapes from *diligences* and *crevasses*. If there is wisdom in the multitude of counsellors, there is also some degree of mental confusion and consequent indecision, for each *canton* had its own stout advocates, and with the prisons of Geneva for a base of operations, we had no definite campaign. Fortunately, taking the advice of a veteran traveller, we posted through the Münstherhal to Bienne, whence by rail to Neuchâtel. The river



Birs flows through this valley which is considered the grandest in the Jura range. The road winds through a succession of defiles and narrow gorges, with perpendicular cliffs rising from the stream through which it has been in places rock-hewn. The cliffs are clothed with huge pines on the crest and in every crevice where their roots could get even a bushful of earth. On each side of the *Birs*, the rocks appear in exaggerated lines of fortification, as if they were reared by rival dynasties of Titans to serve as impregnable defences. There were scarps and bastions with embrasures of dimensions meet only for the "artillery of the heavens" the roll of which in these narrow and deep gorges is said to be awful in the extreme. The peaceful and picturesque loving traveller will regret to hear that a railway is now being constructed through this valley defacing with *debris* a road as old as the Roman occupation of Helvetia. The engineers have by this time fallen to with axes and with hammers and have rough-hewn the Münsterthal beyond all recognition of its having once combined in its entire length the grand, the picturesque and the soft graces of the lovely, more emphatically than any valley in Switzerland. In the words of a modern poet slightly altered :—

" Along these mountains we can never more  
See silver mists unmixed with railway steam,  
Nor hear without the trains intruding roar,  
Pure voice of wind and stream."

The prison de l'Eveche in Geneva is not far from the cathedral. It was once a Cardinal's palace and has a massive though very unornamental appearance. It would be difficult to say, judging from its exterior, what the building was : a large glass case, filled with boots and shoes close to an ordinary looking door-way, might suggest that an ambitious shoe-maker was the tenant. The prison contained only 64 inmates, all sentenced to penal servitude, for periods ranging up to twenty years. They work in association, making shoes, thick felt gaiters, and mats, and are supervised by a warder, who sits before an elevated desk in a corner of the work-room. They are supposed to work in silence, and the warder is armed with a cane for the purpose of enforcing it, but we need not hint that absolute silence is as unpleasant to the master as to the pupils. At night they sleep in separate cells. Their work is not contracted for, the superintendent disposing of it as is the case in this country. There was nothing worthy of notice in this prison except, perhaps, the marked repulsiveness of the convict physiognomy. The privations of life undergone in the rarified air and sudden climatic changes of their mountain homes, may induce a hardness of features that has no such predisposing cause in the case of those "who dwell

in the plains." The same characteristic has been observed among the Calabrian convicts in the quarries of Pozzuoli.

St. Antoine is the other prison, and is intended for untried and comparatively short term prisoners. Those who have been brought up to a trade may carry it on, but the greater number remain too short a time to learn any. The system is exclusively cellular. There is a refinement in the mode of communication with the guards in this prison, which I had never previously seen. The convicts had electric bells at their command with a metal stud which flew out revealing the number of the cell. The governor had a number of these in his office, connecting it with the different floors. There were only 90 prisoners confined in St. Antoine.

This was the last visited of the Continental jails. Two of the English prisons, although "not in the bond," will next be described.

Having earned some measure of self-approbation by visiting prisons when he might have been more pleasantly employed, the writer devoted the rest of his time to travelling here and there the "country thorough," from Chamouny to Schaffhausen.

The shortness of the leave and more pressing attractions prevented my seeing more than the prisons at Millbank and Chatham. The former is too well-known, externally, to require description; internally it baffles description. There are so many corridors, turnings, wings and staircases, that warders of several years' service are known to have been in difficulties about finding an exit, and obliged to "chalk" their way, like the guides when exploring catacombs. It is on the cellular system in the main, though at stated hours the military convicts are massed for shot-drill. There seems no lack of unproductive labour. Shot-drill and "cranks" in profusion. The crank has an endless screw to which an index is attached showing the number of revolutions. This index is frequently outside the cell wall, so that the unfortunate cranksman has not even the pleasure of knowing how his allotted task is being accomplished. As a rule the convicts only remain for nine months at Millbank, whence they are drafted to Chatham, Portland, Portsmouth, or Dartmoor. It may serve the purpose of "breaking in" the prisoners into absolute submission to an unaccustomed and disagreeable *regime*, but a visitor fails to see what other earthly reason can justify the useless expenditure of so much physical energy in turning cranks and lifting shot from one place to another. As a prison punishment for the maintenance of discipline it is necessary, but the same rule does not apply to a judicial punishment. The time passed in Millbank is too short to be effectively deterrent and too long to be almost wasted. It does not aim at reformation, though the grim self-sufficiency of the



place and people would suggest the inference that it was not "like unto others." It is with a sigh of relief that the visitor emerges from its gloomy portals to watch the merry play of the sunbeams on the paddles of the river steamers that rush to and fro past the embankment.

The Deputy Governor, Captain Griffiths, has lately published a most entertaining and instructive book on the history of English penal administration, the reading of which will induce a feeling of lively gratitude in the breast of an Indian superintendent that he has to supervise the "mild Hindoo." The following precious extract is taken almost at random, but it must be premised that flogging was not then administered at Millbank. "A prisoner having smashed his bedstead, demolishes also the iron grating to his window, and thrusts through it his handkerchief tied to a stick, shouting and hallooing the while loud enough to be heard in Surrey. The same day another notorious offender returning from confinement in the dark, is given a pail of water to wash his cell out, but instead, discharges the whole contents over his warder's head. Before he could be secured he had destroyed everything in his cell and had thrown the pieces out of the window. Next, a number of prisoners during the night take to rolling their cell blocks and rattling their tables about . . . .

. . . . Early next morning, Stephen Harman breaks everything he can lay his hands on, the window-frames and all its panes of glass his cell table, stool, shelf, trencher, salt, box-spoon, drinking-cup and all his cell furniture. He had first barricaded his door and could not be secured till all the mischief was done." Others take up the riotous epidemic, and the prison seems to have been for days in a state of mutiny. In India, the convict, be he European or native, would find himself trussed to the triangles within half an hour after a title of such gross misconduct.

After Millbank the convict establishment of Chatham kindles a glow of honest enthusiasm. As has been mentioned, Major Farquharson the Governor, belonged to the Bombay Cavalry, and the effects of his professional training are manifested in the minutest details of the administration. There are two deputy governors, and the total civil guard numbers about 230. Some of them, armed with cutlasses, accompany the convicts to the work, others, with loaded rifles, form a cordon round them. The population amounted to 1,645, but there is accommodation for 1,800. It is, therefore, the largest in Britain. In passing it may not be uninteresting to mention that Lahore and Allahabad are, in all probability, the largest convict establishments in the civilized world.

The cells at Chatham are small, only seven feet by four and a half, but as the ground floor partitions only rise to a small height, there is no deficiency in the ventilation. They have white-washed



walls and a flooring of slate or asphalte, and are lighted from a small window of frosted glass. The cell door has a "Judas," and the warder on duty a muffled tread, so the prisoner never feels himself relieved from observation, the most effectual preventive against escapes, and not a multiplicity of bolts and bars.

As the prisoners are engaged in hard out-door employment, their food is proportionately liberal. On the kitchen table was arranged a sample of the daily fare; for breakfast, three-quarters of a pint of cocoa with a roll of bread weighing 11 oz.; for dinner a basin of thick soup, cabbages, potatoes, and a slice of bread and cheese. A pint of gruel for supper will not, however, readily induce dyspeptic night-mare. The prisoners are engaged in large public works with the view of extending the dockyards. They have excavated basins and built huge sea walls and dock walls, besides the preparatory operations of draining and levelling. Bricks are turned out by the million, and there are extensive carpenteries and iron-works. Shoe-makers and tailors are reserved for their own professional work, but the great majority are engaged as navvies. The better behaved convicts, in a distinctive uniform, drive carts and small locomotive engines about the docks, without being always under the vigilant eye of the warder. But no man can pass the cordon of sentries un-attended by a responsible keeper. These sentries are elevated on platforms and have an extensive range within an uninterrupted view. No prisoner can make a "bolt" of it where a Snider could have running shots at him for several hundred yards. One man escaped for a time by swimming across the river. There is a pre-arranged code of signals to give immediate notice of an escape, "a shrill note on the whistle, a single shot from the sentry's platform sounds the alarm, "a man gone." Next second the whistle re-echoes—shot answers shot, the parties are assembled in the twinkling of an eye, and a force of spare officers hasten at once to the point from whence came the first note of distress. It is next to impossible for the fugitive to get away, if he runs for it he is chased (or shot at) if he goes to ground they dig him out, if he takes to the water he is soon overhauled. The cases are few and far between of successful evasion. In every case the luck or the stratagem has been exceptional, as "when a man was buried by his comrades brick by brick beneath a heap and the interment was completed before the man was missed." In going to, and returning from work, the administrative arrangements are perfect. The governor has brought his corps of 1,600 ruffians to move with as much stillness, steadiness and precision, as if he had the handling of a brigade in his old presidency. The slovenliness of appearance and movement, the shouting, pushing, and general confusion that drives an Indian superintendent into despair, had scant measure in Chatham. Each warder as he returned called



out his number and the number of the convicts under his charge to the "officer on duty" who checked them off his roll as they marched past him. At a stated hour there is "orderly room" as in a regiment, where a similarly calm and judicial decision is given on the cases presented. Only the worst characters are fettered, while those who have assaulted their warders, or have threatened to do so, are clothed in parti-coloured garments, which renders them at once conspicuous for singularity and a fierce temper.

Chatham presents a marvellous example of organized discipline. The very scum of a strong and energetic race is kept in absolute submission, not by physical force, which is not ten per cent. of the convict average, but by mutual distrust, and a steady unbending and judicious authority which has all the force of law and social order to back it. Even in India it is wonderful what persistent and impartial discipline, when combined with want of opportunity for conspiracy, can effect among its heterogeneous castes and creeds. In many jails one can see more than seven hundred prisoners working beyond the jail walls, guarded by only some six or seven per cent. of warders (the greater part of whom are convicts) and unprotected by a single armed sentinel. The *regime*, moreover, is far from being slipshod. The prisoner must perform his allotted task of by no means a low standard, nor can he, much as he loves it, secrete a piece of tobacco the size of an almond without speedy detection and consequent punishment. When the prisons in course of erection are finished, and a certain percentage of cells provided, of a size and construction suitable for strictly solitary confinement, and with fewer and better paid guards, we shall have little to learn applicable to this country, from the more pretentious prisons of the West.

JOHN MACGREGOR, M. A.

ART. XI.—LORD MAYO, FOURTH VICEROY OF INDIA.

*A Life of the Earl of Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India.* By W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D., of Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service, London : Smith, Elder and Co., 1875.

IT seems but yesterday that the largest company of Europeans that ever gathered together at an Indian funeral, followed with slow steps, the gun-carriage which bore the body of Lord Mayo from Chándpál Ghát to Government House, Calcutta. But though the memory of that day remains and must ever remain fresh in the mind of every one who formed part of the sad procession, the sands of time have not ceased to run, and four February's have passed since the *Daphne* carried the remains of the assassinated Viceroy to the land of his birth—their last resting-place. These years have been well occupied by Dr. Hunter in collecting, arranging and condensing the materials for the biography which is now before us. The work has been looked for with an interest very rarely excited by the announcement of a forthcoming Indian book. And this for three reasons. In the first place, no Indian Viceroy ever made for himself so many personal friends ; and by each of these the appearance of this biography has been eagerly expected. Then the somewhat unreasonable outcry made by the press, both of England and India, against Lord Mayo's appointment to the Viceroyalty ; the rapid revulsion of feeling in his favour as he gradually became better known ; and the cruelty of the fate by which his career was so suddenly ended ; —all combined to make the public, both at Home and in India, look with more than ordinary interest for a review of the life and work of a man who had so ably filled one of the most honourable and important, as well as one of the most difficult and responsible posts to which an English Statesman can aspire. And, finally, literary men, both in England and in this country, looked forward with considerable interest and curiosity to the appearance of a biographical work by an author who had earned his brilliant reputation in an entirely different department of the field of letters.

We may at once say that the book is in every way a success, and that it forms a permanent and very valuable addition to the standard literature of India. Lord Mayo's numerous personal friends will find in the work much that will deeply interest them, and some things which will surprise those of them who did not know him thoroughly. By the larger body of his admirers, who did not personally know him, the book will be read with gratification, as showing on what good grounds their admiration of his character rests. And we venture to say that no political opponent



of Lord Mayo, no one in India or England, who disagreed or disagreed with any part of his policy as Viceroy, will close this biography without feeling that India was governed from 1869 to 1872 by one of the most conscientious, high-minded, able and genial men, who ever occupied the Viceregal seat. To the general reader, Dr. Hunter's book will be full of interest. It may without flattery be said of the author, *nihil quod tangit non ornat*; and we only hope that his success in this new direction will not seduce him from the field in which he earned his early laurels. The readers of the charming *Annals of Rural Bengal* and *Orissa*, will recognize in many places throughout the two luxurious volumes now before us, the delicate touches which they have learned to look for and like, and will join with us in the hope we have just expressed.

Dr. Hunter's first chapter is devoted to an account of the early years of his hero. No life of a descendant of one of the oldest and most prominent Irish families, would have been complete without some account of the ancestors from whom he sprang, and Lord Mayo's biographer accordingly carries us back, with the help of the heralds, to the time of Charlemagne and William the Conqueror, with whom the noble family of the de Burghs was closely connected by marriage: 'The de Burgh of 1066 fought by the side of his half-brother William, at Hastings, and received, as his share of the spoil, the Earldom of Cornwall with 793 manors.' From him Dr. Hunter briefly traces the descent to the present Earls of Mayo; and the retrospect proves distinctly enough that the family was a highly respectable one, and had a very decent number of ancestors, who were hanged or otherwise violently put to death. There was also a certain Mistress Graine-ni-Mhaile (pronounced, of course, by the English, 'Granny O'Malley') in the family—mother, indeed of the first Viscount,—who must, according to all accounts, have been a lady of singularly advanced views, having 'a portable husband, three galleys, and two hundred buccaneers' and being consequently in those days, as Dr. Hunter justly remarks, 'a person to be cultivated.' The genealogical sketch is judiciously brief, and Dr. Hunter's readers will readily acquit him of 'an idle love of genealogy,' for which interesting but perhaps somewhat frivolous study, we must ourselves confess to a certain fondness.

Richard Southwell Bourke, Sixth Earl of Mayo, was born at Dublin on the 21st February 1822. His early years were spent at Hayes, the house of his father, about 22 miles from the Irish capital. The pages in which his biographer describes the family-circle and the doings at Hayes, are, to our thinking, among the best in the book. The boy is the father of the man. No truer word was ever written, and we have therefore read with the greatest interest this charmingly written account of Lord Mayo's early life. He was as wild and mischievous as other boys, and had no preten-



sions to being a genius. 'He rejoiced in a long succession of dogs and ponies ;' and specially affected the carpenter's shop and a certain cow-shed, where each member of the family had an animal of some kind which was his very own. Richard passed through all the usual phases of a boy's life, and took his place with proper pride as eldest son. He fitted up 'a small Blue-beard closet' as a museum, and worked therein with a lathe. He played cricket, swam, shot, rode, and generally lived a thoroughly healthy outdoor life under the auspices of his father, of whom a most pleasant picture is given, and who was his children's companion and friend as long as he lived. Richard was blessed with a mother, whose 'figure stands out from among the robust open-air group at Hayes, as something of a paler and more spiritual type than the warm colouring of the life around her.' She was filled with an overwhelming love for her children and exercised a highly beneficial influence over them all. "Long after we were out in the world," writes one of her sons, "we used to resort to her when in doubt or difficulty. Not so much for advice, which she was chary of giving ; but for an interchange of opinion upon a step to be taken or avoided, which might make our course more clear, or our resolution more strong." Richard, we have said, was no genius, but what he did read he understood ; he was fond of history and natural science, and, when thirteen years old, gave a lecture on astronomy to the servants and farm people whom he had collected in the Hall. At a still earlier age he wrote a series of sermons and 'a preface to the Holy Bible,' in which 'he gives an historical introduction to each of the books of the Old Testament as far as the Psalms, with notices of their authors and contents.' His parents were both exceedingly pious people, and at this time and 'for several years, the future world filled his imagination.' "On one occasion," writes his tutor, "he had for some days been busily employed all by himself in making a little secluded arbour in a clump of trees, a very retired spot, concealed from view and not easily found. When I asked him what it was for he answered 'It will be a quiet place for me to pray in, and I mean it for that.'" Of course he wrote verses, principally addressed to his sister, regarding which his biographer says : 'They are good of their kind, with nothing about the Muses in them, but a great deal of natural affection, and some gracefully turned thoughts.' At fifteen, he left home for the first time, to visit a relative. Then he had a two months' cruise in a yacht. In 1838, when he was 16, his mother fearing, 'lest the home-breeding of her sons should place them at a disadvantage on their entry into life,' brought about a migration of the whole family to the continent of Europe. In Paris he learnt French and dancing. In Switzerland he climbed mountains, and went long walking excursions. At Florence he took singing



lessons, and at Rome, Naples, Venice and Verona, he spent days in the galleries—'the mother, now as ever, leading him on in all noble culture.' At this time, too, he entered into the world, went to balls, and, of course, fell in love. 'This he did with characteristic vigour, ending in a heart-broken parting, which was, however, happily mitigated by a more than usually copious flow of verse, among which certain lines on Juliet's tomb almost deserve to live.' After spending two years in this way abroad he returned to England in 1840, and in that year obtained a Captain's commission in the Kildare Militia. The following year he entered Trinity College, Dublin, and after the usual course took 'an uneventful degree.' In 1843 he came of age.

About this time Mr. Richard Bourke spent a considerable portion of his time in London and saw a good deal of society there. He is thus described: 'A very young man with a fine bearing; one of the best waltzers in town, and a great deal made of.' The summer of 1845, he spent in Russia, and on his return he published an account of his visit in two volumes\*; 'a very fair specimen,' says his biographer 'of a young man's travels, modestly written, full of eye-sight, and not overlaid with general reflections.' We must quote one passage only from this work. The author describes the horrible punishment of the execution by the knout of the serf who shot Prince Gargarin, and adds:—"This man was a criminal, guilty of a heinous crime; but it is on all sides agreed that the punishment of death is, and ought to be considered as an example to the survivors, and not as a means of vengeance on the criminal. Such a scene, as I have related, is a disgrace to a country calling itself Christian, and contrary to all right principles of Government." 'These words,' says his biographer, 'have become memorable from the appalling fate, then lurking among the tragedies of coming time, to which their writer was destined. It is something that we can also remember how, amid that paroxysm of amazement and wrath, the views here expressed by a generous youth became the policy of a great empire, of an empire three times more populous than all Russia in Europe and in Asia put together. This is not the place to speak of the impassive tread with which retribution then measured each step to punishment; how, amid the cries for vengeance by many races and in many tongues, the pulse of justice beat not one throb more or less, and law neither raised nor lowered her voice by a semi-tone. But the words of a brave and merciful man do not wholly die. The same trial, the same delays of the courts, the same safe-guards of evidence and the

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\* *St. Petersburg and Moscow*: By Richard Southwell Bourke, Esq.,  
*A visit to the Court of the Czar.* 2 vols. Henry Colburn, 1846.



same penalty for his crime, were awarded to the assassin of Lord Mayo, as if the murdered man had been the humblest among the 250 millions of subjects and feudatories over whom the Viceroy ruled.'

It was after his return to Ireland, that the serious work of Mr. Richard Bourke's life began. The outbreak of the potatoe disease in Ireland in 1836, brought heavy work upon the Irish gentry, many of whom devoted themselves with great earnestness to the relief of the sufferers. At the same time, Mr. Bourke's father gave him a small farm which occupied a great deal of his time, and altogether he had his hands full of work of one kind or another. In 1847, he was appointed by Lord Heytesbury, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to "the little post of 'Gentleman at large' on his staff, an office which brought him pleasantly into contact with the society at the Castle, but entailed no duties except attendance at ceremonials and levées." The same year, being then twenty-six years old, he was returned a Member of Parliament for his own county Kildare; and in 1848 he married Miss Blanche Wyndham, whose father afterwards became Lord Leconfield. Six months after his marriage, his grand-uncle, the Earl of Mayo, died. Mr. Bourke of Hayes became fifth Earl, his eldest son taking the courtesy-title of Lord Naas, and it was under this title that he was known in Parliament. We can only very briefly notice his Parliamentary career; Anglo-Indians do not, as a rule, take a very earnest interest in English politics, and our readers will not probably care for details of the part taken by Lord Naas in political discussions a quarter of a century ago. As a matter of fact he did not take any part in discussions on general questions, but confined himself to subjects with which he was acquainted, and on which he was therefore able to speak with some confidence. In the first two years he did not speak at all, and his maiden effort was not made until February 1849, when the subject before the House, was the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act (Ireland). Of course he was congratulated by his friends, including Mr. Disraeli, and equally of course he discovered that his speech had been very badly reported. Although he had no brilliant oratorical qualities he attracted the notice of the chiefs of his party, and generally spoke when Irish subjects were under discussion. In 1850 when the ministry changed, Lord Derby, much to his surprise, offered him the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, a position in which he gained so completely the confidence of the Irish Conservative party, that he was offered the post a second time on Lord Derby's accession to power in 1858, and again in 1866. On accepting office, he desired re-election for Kildare, but found it advisable to retire from a struggle in which he had no chance of success, and was returned for Coleraine instead. He represented



that borough until 1857, when he was elected for Cockermouth, which place he represented until his departure for India in 1868. Throughout his parliamentary career he confined himself exclusively to Irish subjects and was virtually the leader of the Irish Conservatives in the House of Commons. A list of the measures which he brought forward would not interest our readers; he especially insisted over and over again on the necessity of giving improving tenants in Ireland some compensation for their outlay, and brought in a tenants' compensation Act during his first term of office. He believed, says one of his colleagues, that any permanent improvement of the land ought to be for the benefit alike of the owner and of the tiller of the soil. His idea was: "If you really improve my land, you shall not lose by so doing, and any rule that says otherwise shall be done away with." He used to argue that if you prevent such reforms you injure yourself as landlord and you act unjustly to your fellow-men. Liberty of thought, of faith and of action he loved more than life itself. The exercise of spiritual or temporal power for purposes of intimidation or wrongful coercion was to him hateful. He had an unresting sympathy for all in want or in misery. For the lunatic poor, for prisoners and for the fallen, his heart was always urging him to work; and for them he *did* work, and did good work. His Chief, the Earl of Derby, and several of his colleagues have written in the highest terms of his manner of doing business, his firmness, his sound judgment and his wonderful capacity both for doing real work himself and for getting the greatest possible amount out of those with whom he came in contact. We cannot with the small amount of space at our disposal, quote the expressions of high praise from all who knew him, but we must give one extract from a letter written by one of his colleagues to show that in a very important respect he was particularly qualified for the high position to which he was so soon to be chosen. The writer says:—

He never lost his presence of mind. I well remember one morning in March 1867, I received a message at an early hour from Lord Naas, saying he would like to see me. When I entered his room at the Irish Office, he was sitting at a table writing a letter, looking uncommonly well and fresh, and quite composed and quiet. He handed me a telegram and went on with his writing. I read that during the night there had been a rising of Fenians near Dublin. I confess I was considerably agitated, and did not conceal it. I shall never forget the demeanour of Lord Naas. He had lost not a moment in sending a copy of the telegram to Her Majesty, and preparing the case for the Cabinet. What puzzled him more than anything was the sudden stoppage of any further news. We telegraphed again and again, but it was not till late in the afternoon that any clear answers were received. He issued all the orders with the same quiet and precision as if dealing with ordinary work. He had at once determined to go that night to Ireland and to remain there till order was restored. He had perfect confidence in his arrangements, and he declared that the insurrection could never assume



any serious importance. But he was uneasy for the safety of persons living in isolated parts, and about the small bands of villains, who would use a political disturbance as a shelter for local crimes. He said: "I dread more than anything else that a panic will be fed by newspaper reports, and that an outcry may get up that Ireland ought to be declared in a state of siege and military law proclaimed. To this I will never yield although I know my refusal will be misrepresented, and may for the moment intensify the alarm." It is unnecessary in a personal narrative to repeat what followed in the Fenian camp. The insurrection, if it may be dignified by that name, was immediately stamped out. Lord Naas put it down in his own way, yielding neither to threats nor entreaties, acting wisely and firmly, and allowing himself to be influenced neither by newspaper panics nor by patriots in the House of Commons, nor by rebels outside it. When he returned to London he went on with his Government Bills precisely as if nothing had happened, and no fewer than eighteen of his measures prepared in that year received the Royal assent.

And in a public speech to the Buckinghamshire electors, Mr. Disraeli, alluding to the same matter, said:—"With regard to Ireland, I say that a state of affairs so dangerous was never encountered with more firmness, but at the same time with greater magnanimity; that never were foreign efforts so completely controlled, and baffled and defeated, as was this Fenian conspiracy by the Government of Ireland, by the Lord Lieutenant and by the Earl of Mayo. Upon that nobleman, for his sagacity, for his judgment, fine temper and knowledge of men, Her Majesty has been pleased to confer the office of Viceroy of India; and as Viceroy of India, I believe he will earn a reputation that his country will honour, and that he has before him a career which will equal that of the most eminent Governor-General who has preceded him.' These qualities are precisely those which would be required by a Viceroy in such emergencies as have unhappily arisen in India, and it is easy, after reading Dr. Hunter's book, to understand Lord Mayo's nomination to the high office in which he died. When the subject of that appointment was first broached to him, he hesitated a great deal, but at last consented to accept the Viceroyalty of India in preference to that of Canada, which he was offered at the same time.

Our readers need not be reminded of the torrent of abuse which was poured on the Government in connection with this appointment. It is interesting to read how this hostile criticism affected himself. 'I am sorely hurt,' he wrote to Sir Stafford Northcote, 'at the way in which the Press are abusing my appointment. I care little for myself, but I am not without apprehension that these attacks may damage the Government and injure my influence if ever I arrive in India. I am made uneasy, but not daunted.' Again: 'I did not accept this great office without long and anxious consideration. I leave with a good confidence, and hope that I may realize the expectations of my friends. I was prepared for hostile criticism, but I thought that my long public service



might have saved me from the personal abuse which has been showered upon me. I bear no resentment and only pray that I may be enabled ere long to show my abusers that they were wrong.'

Again he writes to a friend :—" I know India is ' a big thing,' but I am not afraid of it, and feel confident that, if I get there in health and strength, I can with God's help show these bitter scribblers that they are wrong. Indian experience is very valuable. But I believe that twenty years of the House of Commons, five years' labour in the most difficult of offices, with two in the Cabinet, form as good a training as a man could have for the work." And in addressing his constituents at Cockermouth he said :—" Splendid as is the post, and difficult as will be my duties, I go forth in full confidence and hope that God will give me such strength and wisdom as will enable me to direct the Government of India in the interests and for the well-being of the millions committed to our care. In the performance of the great task I ask for no favour. Let me be judged according to my acts. And I know that efforts honestly made for the maintenance of our national honour, for the spread of civilization, and the preservation of peace, will always command the sympathy and support of my countrymen."

It was in October 1868, that Lord Mayo was appointed to the Viceroyalty of India ; on the 20th December he landed at Bombay ; and on the 12th January 1869, he entered Government House, Calcutta, for the first time. To this period—October to January—Dr. Hunter devotes one of the most interesting chapters in his book. The moment Lord Mayo accepted the Viceroyalty he commenced with characteristic energy to prepare for the important work before him. His biographer in this chapter uses freely the very interesting diary kept by the Viceroy-elect. The extracts show how conscientiously he used the time at his disposal. One day immediately after his acceptance of the appointment, he has ' a long talk on Indian matters' with some one who calls ; he then goes to the India Office and discusses railways, army organization, the state of the North-West Frontier, and irrigation works. Next day there is a ' long talk on railway matters,' a discussion on gaols and the partial decentralization of Indian finance—a visit to the Home Office—then to the India Office, where there is another long talk on frontier matters. Another day he has ' a long and interesting conversation ' on the subject of Indian Finances with Mr. Massey ; and the ex-Finance Minister seems to have touched on most of the difficult points connected with the financial administration of India. Mr. Massey is followed by the Chairman of the Sind Railway, with whom another ' very long talk,' the salient points of which are all noted. " After he went away," the diary proceeds : " Sir Arthur Cotton came, with



whom I had a most interesting conversation for two hours and a half on irrigation matters ;" then follow the heads of the conversation, which alone occupy more than two pages of Dr. Hunter's book. After this a "Mr. M." came 'with whom,' writes Lord Mayo, 'I had a long talk, principally upon social matters in Calcutta. He forms, apparently, a very low estimate of the Bengali character, and gave me some very interesting details of the Mutiny. He is strongly in favour of the influence of hospitality.' All this in one day. And the other days are the same. The amount of work of this kind recorded in the diary between 20th October and 10th November is extraordinary. And his sense of the heavy responsibilities of his position did not cease when, on the 11th of November 1868, he looked for the last time on the Dover Cliffs.' At each stage of his outward journey, there is some one to be seen, or something to be done, having a bearing on his future work. The lengthy extracts from the diary regarding the Suez Canal, through which he was taken by M. Lesseps, are specially interesting both in themselves and as showing how retentive Lord Mayo's memory must have been, and with what readiness he acquired information on technical subjects, with which he can have had little acquaintance. At Aden there is much about the defective principles on which the fort is constructed, the deficient water-supply, &c., and the conclusions at which he arrived regarding this important place are summarized. At Bombay, the drainage, gaol system, harbour works, port defences, municipal taxation, sanitation, customs, cotton-presses, barracks, water-works, and many other matters are noted. At Puna there is something about the powder manufactory, the Deccan College, the Sassoon Hospital, the Jiranda gaol, the Native Infantry lines, the barracks, the bakery, &c. During his three clear days at Madras he visited the Model Farm, the Horticultural Gardens, the Monegar Chaultri, the Lock Hospital, the Gaol, the General Hospital, the Fort, the Barracks, the Red Hills Tank, the Cathedral, and in fact every place worth visiting. He stayed up late at balls and dinner parties, and was out early at the races or hunting. He discussed Public Works, irrigation, decentralization of finance, the police system, the officering of the native army, the 'proceedings and movements of the Carnatic family,' and so forth. He himself admits that 'during our short turn I managed to see a great deal.' So much, indeed, that the first entry in the diary after leaving Madras runs: '*Madras to Calcutta, 8th January. Paid the penalty of my imprudence and over-exertion at Madras, being attacked sharply by fever this morning.*'

Lord Mayo landed at Chandpal Ghât, Calcutta, on the afternoon of the 12th January 1869. He was received with the usual honours, and went at once to Government House. 'I walked,' he writes,



'straight with Sir William Mansfield (Commander-in-Chief) and the members of Council into the Council Room, where I was immediately sworn in and took my seat at the Board. This is his own description of the event, but we must quote his biographer's account. It is one of the finest passages in the work :—

The reception of a new Viceroy on the spacious flight of steps at Government House, and the handing over charge of the Indian Empire which immediately follows, form an imposing spectacle. On this occasion it had a pathos of its own. At the top of the stairs stood the wearied, veteran Viceroy, wearing his splendid harness for the last day ; his face blanched, and his tall figure shrunken by forty years of Indian service ; but his head erect, and his eye still bright with the fire which had burst forth so gloriously in India's supreme hour of need. Around him stood the tried counsellors with whom he had gone through life—a silent, calm semi-circle—in suits of blue and gold, lit up by a few scarlet uniforms. At the bottom, the new Governor-General jumped lightly out of the carriage, amid the saluting of troops and glitter of arms ; his large athletic form in the easiest of summer costumes, with a funny little coloured neck-tie, and a face red with health and sunshine. As he came up the tall flight of stairs with a springy step, Lord Lawrence, with a visible feebleness, made the customary three paces forward to the edge of the landing-place to receive him. I was among the group of officers who followed them into the Council Chamber ; and, as we went, a friend compared the scene to an even more memorable one on these same stairs. The toilworn statesman, who had done more than any other single Englishman to save India in 1857, was now handing it over to an untried successor ; and thirteen years before, Lord Dalhousie, the stern ruler, who did more than any other Englishman to build up that Empire, had come to the same act of demission on the same spot, with a face still more deeply ploughed by disease and care, a mind and body more weary, and bearing within him the death which he was about to pay as the price of great services to his country. In the Chamber, Sir John Lawrence and his council took their seats at the table, the Chief Secretaries stood around, a crowd of officers filled the room, and the silent faces of the Englishmen who had won and kept India in times past looked down from the walls. The clerk read out the oaths in a clear voice, and Lord Mayo assented. At the same moment the Viceroy's band burst forth with "God save the Queen," in the garden below, a great shout came in from the people outside, the Fort thundered out its Royal Salute, and the 196 millions of British India had passed under a new ruler.

Dr. Hunter considers separately the Foreign, Financial, Legislative, and Military Administrations of India during Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, then devotes a chapter to his internal administration. We shall follow the biographer's order, and would merely premise that it is not our object in this review to criticise Lord Mayo's policy as Viceroy, but simply to state what that policy was.

The leading features of Lord Mayo's foreign policy, were an absolute objection to anything like annexation or extension of the frontier—the cultivation of friendly relations with the tribes along the entire frontier line of India—the preservation of the independence of their powers and the encouragement of friendly commercial relations with them, and absolute non-interference



with their internal affairs except when intervention was rendered necessary by gross mis-management. His dealings with the Feudatory powers were guided by the same principles. He desired to encourage them to manage their own affairs well, and let them to understand that if they did so they might depend on his support and friendship; he discouraged all unnecessary interference or control in the case of rulers, who showed any desire or ability to govern well and peaceably. On the other hand, he let it be known, both by words and deeds, that he would not tolerate mis-government nor look quietly on oppression on the part of any of the Feudatories. He distinctly intimated that firm steps would be taken to prevent such mis-management or oppression—that, if a prince proved himself unworthy of his position, the Indian Government would at once step in and take the government out of his hands, not by annexing his territory, but by displacing him and appointing a competent successor, or, if necessary, an English agent. The remedy for mis-government was, he thought, not to be found in 'vexatious interference in minor matters, or by constant threats of deposition or sequestration of revenue,' but rather 'in a policy which would exalt the dignity, strength and the authority, and increase the personal responsibility of these families; and, at the same time by showing them that that which they really value above everything, *viz.*, the support of the British Government in securing the permanency of their rule, is only to be gained by the exercise of justice, by the certain punishment of crime, and the encouragement of those who support our recommendations.' 'Should a well-disposed chief,' he writes on another occasion, 'while using his utmost endeavours to establish good government within his State, be opposed by insubordinate petty barons, mutinous troops, or seditious classes of his subjects, it is then our duty to support his authority and power.' But he never concealed the other side of the question, and firmly set his face against mis-rule of every kind. 'I believe,' he writes, 'that if in any Feudatory State in India, oppression, tyranny, corruption, wastefulness, and vice are found to be the leading characteristics of its administration, it is the imperative duty of the Paramount Power to interfere, and that we evade the responsibility which our position in India imposes upon us, and avoid the discharge of a manifest duty, if we allow the people of any race or class to be plundered and oppressed. . . . Further, I believe that under no circumstances can we permit in any State in India the existence of civil war, and that on such an occasion as this'—he is writing of the gross mis-management of the Alwar Chief—'it is plainly our duty to interfere, at first by every peaceful means which we have at our disposal; but that, in the event of arbitration and mediation failing, it will be our duty to stop by force of arms anything approaching to



open hostilities between large classes of the people and their chiefs.'

These principles he carried out with consistency and firmness throughout the period of his Viceroyalty, and it is undeniable that the effect produced by this policy was most wholesome and excellent. His plan was to begin with kindness, but, if that failed, to quietly but firmly apply pressure. The speech which he addressed to the Princes and Chiefs of Rájputáná assembled in Durbár at Ajmír, expresses so clearly his views, and is so perfect a specimen of a good speech, that we give it here. It is for many reasons worthy of a permanent place in Indian literature:—

I, as the representative of the Queen, have come here to tell you, as you have often been told before, that the desire of Her Majesty's Government is to secure to you and to your successors the full enjoyment of your ancient rights and the exercise of all lawful customs, and to assist you in upholding the dignity and maintaining the authority which you and your fathers have for centuries exercised in this land.

But in order to enable us fully to carry into effect this our fixed resolve, we must receive from you hearty and cordial assistance. If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and regard the privileges, of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere, throughout the length and breadth of Rájputáná, justice and order shall prevail; that every man's property shall be secure; that the traveller shall come and go in safety; that the cultivator shall enjoy the fruits of his labour, and the trader the produce of his commerce; that you shall make roads, and undertake the construction of those works of irrigation which will improve the condition of the people and swell the revenues of your States; that you shall encourage education, and provide for the relief of the sick.

Be assured that we ask you to do all this, for no other but your own benefit. If we wished you to remain weak, we should say, be poor, and ignorant, and disorderly. It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed, and well-governed; it is for such objects that the servants of the Queen rule in India; and Providence will ever sustain the rulers who govern for the people's good.

I am here only for a time. The able and earnest officers, who surround me, will, at no distant period, return to their English homes; but the power which we represent will endure for ages. Hourly is this great Empire brought nearer and nearer to the throne of our Queen. The steam-vessel and the railroad enable England, year by year, to enfold India in a closer embrace. But the coils she seeks to entwine around her are no iron fetters, but the golden chains of affection and of peace. The days of conquest are past; the age of improvement has begun.

Chiefs and Princes, advance in the right way, and secure to your children's children, and to future generations of your subjects, the favouring protection of a Power who only seeks your good.

The subject of the preservation of our Indian frontier cost Lord Mayo much earnest thought. His system was, as it were, to insulate India by forming a belt of independent and friendly territories round the entire length of its frontier from the Persian Gulf



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to Burmah. He thought our policy lay in encouraging by every means the independence of these trans-frontier Powers, in making of them staunch allies, who would have everything to lose and nothing to gain by giving up our friendship or by intriguing with any Central Asian power that might have designs on them. And he consistently and steadily carried out this policy. How he gradually established link after link of the chain, is well told in Dr. Hunter's book. We can only briefly follow him here. To begin with Kilát. When Lord Mayo came to India, Persia was virtually by constant encroachments, pushing her frontier eastward, until it seemed likely that ere long her territory would be continuous with our own. In September 1869, the Indian Government wrote to the Secretary of State pointing out that, if this should happen, 'the safe and prudent policy which we deem essential to British interests would be rudely terminated.' They then urged, and continued to urge, the necessity of firm and decided steps being taken to prevent this. Not, however, until 1870 did Lord Mayo gain his point. In April of that year, the Shah consented to the marking out of a Persian frontier-line, by Commissioners appointed by England, Persia and Kilát. General Goldsmid was appointed to the duty of defining the eastern boundary of Persia, and his decision, which was not at first agreeable to either party, was eventually accepted by both. Thus the beginning of the great trans-frontier belt was made; and, at the time of his death, Lord Mayo was busily engaged—in accordance with his policy already described—in trying to secure for the Kilát State peaceful and good internal government.

With Afghánistán the same policy was followed. Just before Lord Mayo's arrival in India, Sher Ali had established his power firmly throughout that country, and had been recognized as the Amír by Lord Lawrence the Viceroy. It would be beyond our province, in this paper, to enter into the discussion which has been raised regarding the part which Lord Mayo took in carrying out his predecessor's policy. The views of the two parties are very fairly stated by Dr. Hunter, who also gives a very succinct and clear *resumé* of Afghán affairs from 1838. It is sufficient for our present purpose to state that, in all he did, it was Lord Mayo's object to establish a firm friendship between the actual ruler of Afghánistán and himself as Viceroy of India. The great Ambála Durbár did much to bring this about. Lord Mayo's winning manner, which never failed to charm the foreign Princes and Feudatories with whom he came in contact, the splendid reception given to him, the evidences of peace and prosperity which he saw on every side about him as soon as he passed into English territory, all deeply impressed the Amír, and he remained a firm and loyal friend to the Viceroy during Lord Mayo's life.



Thus the second link in the trans-frontier chain was established.

The third link was Turkestan. In the beginning of 1869, when Lord Mayo assumed the Viceroyalty, the Atáligh Gházi had not established himself in Turkestan, and the State was in no way recognised by the Indian Government. But in the end of that year, the Atáligh Gházi sent an envoy with letters to the Viceroy and the Queen. In March 1870, the envoy had an interview with Lord Mayo in Calcutta, and asked among other things, 'that a British officer might accompany him back on a friendly visit to his master, the ruler of Eastern Turkestan.' Having satisfied himself, as far as he could do so, that the Atáligh Gházi was the actual ruler of Turkestan, Lord Mayo acceded to the request of the envoy, and deputed Sir Douglas (then Mr.) Forsyth to accompany him back to Yárkand. The visit was to be one of courtesy only. No question of politics was to be discussed; but Mr. Forsyth was at liberty to repeat the advice already given by Lord Mayo to the envoy, namely, that 'the Atáligh Gházi would best consult the interests of his kingdom by a watchful, just, and vigorous government; by strengthening the defences of his frontier; and above all, by not interfering in the political affairs of other States, or in the quarrels of chiefs or tribes that did not directly concern his own interests.' Further, Mr. Forsyth was expected to collect as much information as he could regarding the state of trade in the country which he was to visit—its political condition, its relations to the neighbouring countries, and indeed everything that could be of interest to the Indian Government. He was not to stay in the country beyond the winter. The result of the expedition is fresh in the memory of our readers. As soon as Mr. Forsyth discovered, on his arrival in Turkestan, that the Atáligh Gházi was engaged in fighting in a distant part of his territories, he resolved on an immediate return, and only stayed long enough at Yárkand to make the necessary arrangements. He had no choice but to do this, having received the most imperative instructions from Lord Mayo to do so, should he find the Atáligh's assertion, that he was the established ruler of a peaceful State, in any degree incorrect. The visit, however, was not without fruits, Mr. Forsyth and his party had obtained much valuable information about the country they had visited, and one of the results has been the opening of a free trade route through the Chang Chenmu Valley; and Eastern Turkestan has become a valuable market for English goods. Our readers will also remember that, three years ago, at the request of another envoy from the Atáligh Gházi, begging that an English official might be sent back with him with power to frame a commercial treaty, Sir Douglas Forsyth again visited Yárkand and signed a treaty



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of the nature proposed. Thus, during Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty, the first steps were taken towards the establishment of this link in the trans-frontier chain of independent States.

With Nepal he had no difficulty ; and he confined himself to maintaining an attitude alike firm, friendly, and dignified, and consolidated the satisfactory relations he found existing with that State. On the North-Eastern frontier of Bengal and with Burmah he desired to carry out the same policy as that which we have already described ; but in the case of the Lushai frontier, he was obliged to adopt different means for establishing peace. In his Minute with regard to the Lushai Expedition, he gives fully his reasons for thinking the expedition necessary, and his views as to the manner in which it should be conducted.

We have devoted a considerable portion of our space to Lord Mayo's foreign policy, because it stands out most prominently as one of the strongest points in his administration, and because as he retained the Foreign and Public Works Portfolios in his own hands, it is from his management of these departments that we can best form an opinion of his powers as an Indian administrator. We have already said that it is not our province in this paper to criticise ; but, we may be permitted to say briefly, that the policy towards Feudatories and Frontier States so distinctly enunciated and followed by Lord Mayo is a thoroughly sound one, and that the firm and consistent way in which he carried it out, is alone sufficient to give him a very high position among Indian Viceroys.

We cannot lay aside Dr. Hunter's first volume which closes with Lord Mayo's foreign policy, without extracting from it a description of the mechanism of the Indian Government, which is exceedingly interesting, and, so far as we know, is not to be found in any other book.

The mechanism of the Supreme Government of India consists of a Cabinet, with the Governor-General as an absolute President, subject to the distant authority of the Secretary of State in England, and directly controlling the twelve Provincial Governments and the 153 Native States of India. Every order runs in the name of the President and the collective Cabinet, technically the 'Governor-General in Council.' And under the Company every case actually passed through the hands of each member of Council, circulating at a snail's pace, in little mahogany boxes, from one Councillor's house to another. 'The system involved,' writes a former Member of Council, 'an amount of elaborate minute-writing which seems now hardly conceivable. Twenty years ago the Governor-General and the Council used to perform work which would now be disposed of by an Under-Secretary. Lord Canning found that, if he was to raise the administration to the higher standard of promptitude and efficiency which now obtains, he must put a stop to this. He remodelled the Government into the semblance of a Cabinet, with himself as President ! Each member of the Supreme Council practically became a Minister at the head of his own department, responsible for its ordinary business, but bound to lay important cases before the Viceroy whose will forms the final arbitra-



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ment in all great questions of policy in which he sees fit to exercise it. 'The ordinary current business of the Government,' writes Sir John Strachey, 'is divided among the members of the Council much in the same manner, in which in England, it is divided among the Cabinet Ministers, each member having a separate department of his own.' The Governor-General himself keeps one department specially in his own hand, generally the Foreign Office; and Lord Mayo, being insatiable of work, retained two, the Foreign Department and the great Department of Public Works. Various changes took place in the Supreme Government even during his short Viceroyalty, but the following represents the *personnel* of his Government as fairly as any single view can:—

Departments.	Members of Council.	Chief-Secretary.
I. Foreign Department.	The Viceroy.	Mr. C. U. Aitchison, C.S.I.
II. Public Works Department.	The Viceroy.	Divided into branches.
III. Home Department.	Hon'ble Barrow Ellis.	Mr. Clive Bayley, C. S. I.
IV. Department of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce.	Hon'ble Sir John Strachey, — K. C. S. I.	Mr. A. O. Hume, C. B.
V. Financial Department.	Hon'ble Sir R. Temple, K. C. S. I.	Mr. Barclay Chapman.
VI. Military Department.	Major-General the Hon'ble Sir H. Norman, K. C. S. I.	Colonel Burne.
VII. Legislative Department.	Hon'ble Fitz-James Stephen, Q. C.	Mr. Whitley Stokes.

Lord Mayo, besides his duties as President of the Council, and final source of authority in each of the seven departments, was, therefore, in his own person Foreign Minister and Minister of Public Works. The Home Minister (No. III), the Minister of Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce (No. IV), and the Finance Minister (No. V), were members of the Indian Civil Service, along with the Secretaries and Under-Secretaries in those and in the Foreign Department; of the other two departments, the Military (No. VI) was presided over by a distinguished soldier, and the Legislative (No. VII) by an eminent member of the English Bar. Routine and ordinary matters were disposed of by the Member of Council within whose department they fell. Papers of greater importance were sent, with the initiating member's opinion, to the Viceroy, who either concurred in or modified it. If the Viceroy concurred, the case generally ended, and the Secretary worked up the member's note into a letter or a resolution, to be issued as the orders of the Governor-General in Council. But in a matter of weight, the Viceroy, even when concurring with the initiating members, often directed the papers to be circulated either to the whole Council, or to certain of the members whose views he might think it expedient to obtain on the question. In cases in which he did not concur with the initiating member's views, the papers were generally circulated to all the other members, or the Governor-General ordered them to be brought up in Council. Urgent business was submitted to the Governor-General direct by the Secretary of

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the department under which it fell ; and the Viceroy either initiated the order himself, or sent the case for initiation to the Member of Council at the head of the department to which it belonged.

This was the paper side of Lord Mayo's work. All orders issued in his name. Every case of any real importance passed through his hands, and either bore his order, or his initials under the initiating Member's note. Urgent matters in all the seven departments went direct to him in the first instance. He had also to decide what cases could be best disposed of by the Departmental Member and himself, and what ought to be circulated to the whole Council or to certain of the members. In short, he had to see, as his orders ran in the name of the Governor-General in Council, that they fairly represented the collective views of his Government. The 'circulation' of the papers took place, and still does, in oblong mahogany boxes, ir-tight, and fitted with a uniform Chubb's lock. Each Under-Secretary, Deputy-Secretary, Chief-Secretary, and Member of Council gets his allotted share of these little boxes every morning ; each has his own key ; and after 'noting' on the cases that come before him, sends on the box with his written opinion added to the file. The accumulated boxes from the seven departments pour into the Viceroy throughout the day. In addition to this vast diurnal tide of general work, Lord Mayo had two of the heaviest departments in his own hands, as Member in charge of the Foreign Office and of Public Works.

There is no part of his administration to which Lord Mayo's friends point with greater pride than his management of the finances of India, and the story told in Dr. Hunter's book is certainly full of the deepest interest. We once more find Lord Mayo sternly setting his shoulder to the wheel and doing with all his might, what he believes to be right, because he believes it to be right, with a noble contempt for unpopularity, and the outcry of people ignorant of the facts of the case. The two great measures round which the interest of his financial administration centres, are, of course, the raising of the Income Tax and the decentralization of Indian finance, or, as the Financial Secretary, in deference to Lord Mayo's objection to the term 'decentralization,' prefers to call it—the establishment of Provincial Finance. He was led to both of these measures by the same facts. The keynote to Lord Mayo's financial policy is to be found in a letter written to Sir Henry Durand in August 1869 : '*I am determined not to have another deficit,*' he writes, '*even if it leads to the diminution of the Army, the reduction of Civil Establishments, and the stoppage of Public Works.*' In the three years preceding Lord Mayo's first budget, there had been an aggregate deficit of nearly six millions sterling, and the total excess of expenditure over revenue had been *more than eleven millions sterling*.\* Sir Richard Temple's first budget (March 1869) showed a deficit in the actuals of 1867-68 of £923,720 being 2½ millions less than the budget estimate for the year ; the regular estimate for 1868-69 showed a deficit of £889,598 instead of an estimated sur-

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\* At the rate of 1s. 10d. per Rupee.



plus of £1,893,508—total difference, five and a quarter millions. The budget estimate was for a small surplus of £48,263. All this was bad enough, but it was not the worst. Lord Mayo soon found that, at the end of the financial year, the cash balances were lower than had been estimated by 1½ million sterling, and that, altogether, the real deficit for 1868-69 was £2,542,861 instead of £889,598 as estimated. This naturally alarmed him; the whole budget estimates were revised; and it became apparent that the current year must end with a deficit of £1,650,000 instead of the estimated surplus of £48,263 announced in March. Meanwhile Sir Richard Temple had gone home on six months' leave, and Sir John (then Mr.) Strachey was acting for him. Lord Mayo, assisted by Mr. Strachey, faced the difficulty with characteristic energy, and his enquiries showed 'that the financial collapse was due partly to a failure of the revenue estimates, especially of the opium duty, and partly to an undue expenditure on Public Works, the Army, and certain civil departments.' He rapidly decided what to do—first, *to prevent the anticipated deficit*; secondly, to re-adjust the finances, and so permanently prevent the recurrence of deficits. He at once cut down the grant for Public Works by £800,000, and reduced the expenditure for education, science, and art, by £350,000. Finding that he could do no more in the way of reduction, he reluctantly raised the Income Tax from 1 per cent. (at which he found it) to 2 per cent. and enhanced the salt-duty in Madras and Bombay, by these means hoping to increase the revenue by £500,000. This, in addition to the £1,150,000 saved in expenditure, would cover the estimated deficit of the current year, £1,650,000. The actual result was a surplus of £108,779, but this was only due to 'the unexpected adjustment in the accounts of the year of some important outstanding items,' but for which there would, after all, have been a (very small) deficit.

Having thus dealt with the current difficulty, he turned his attention to placing the finances on a permanently sound and satisfactory basis. His reforms in this direction are divided into three branches:—'First, improvements in the mechanism of the Financial Department of the Supreme Government itself. Second, the more rigid enforcement on the Local Governments of economy in framing their estimates, and of accuracy in keeping within them—while thus increasing their fiscal responsibility, Lord Mayo also extended their financial powers. Third, a systematic and permanent re-adjustment of the revenues and the expenditure.' Under the second of these heads, came a thorough consideration of the financial relations between the Supreme Government and the various local administrations. Before the issue of the well-known Resolution of 14th December 1870, grants were made for



specific purposes, and a Local Government could not expend any portion of a grant on any other object than that for which it was given; any balance, unspent, being returned to the Imperial Treasury. The faults of such a system are patent;—it causes unnecessary friction between the Supreme and the Local Governments, and is evidently not conducive to economy. By the Resolution of 14th December 1870, this was changed; 'a fixed yearly consolidated grant was made to each Government to enable it to defray the cost of its principal services, exclusive of the Army, but including Public Works. The grants thus made are final, being liable to reduction only in case of severe financial distress. They belong absolutely to the respective Local Governments. No savings from any one of them revert to the Imperial Treasury. Their distribution is left to the free discretion of the Local Governments, without any interference on the part of the Governor-General in Council. In fact, the only conditions imposed are those necessary to restrict the powers of the Local Governments within the limits assigned by Parliament and Her Majesty's Secretary of State to the powers of the Supreme Government itself; and to prevent a Local Government from embarrassing its neighbours by capricious or injudicious innovations.'

The system was, after four years experience of its working, reported an undoubted success. Mr. Barclay Chapman writes: 'It is now generally acknowledged that its effects have been to promote a good understanding between the Supreme and the Local Governments; to increase the interest of the latter Governments in their work; to enlarge their power to do good, and to relieve the Imperial Exchequer from an old class of urgent demands.' And Sir John Strachey writes: 'In regard to the general success of the new system, so far as it has gone, there neither has been, nor is, any difference of opinion.' The question of local taxation which, although not necessarily connected with that of provincial assignments, came to be considered at the same time, is discussed by Dr. Hunter, but into that question we cannot enter here. Dr. Hunter points out that 'both of these great topics had engaged the attention of Indian Statesmen before Lord Mayo's rule. What he did was to find a successful solution for one of them, and to place the second in a train for practical settlement.'

Dr. Hunter has, of course, much to say in connection with this part of Lord Mayo's administration, on the subject of the Indian Income Tax. 'Viewed by the light of after events, there seems little doubt that the Viceroy might have adopted a less stringent course,' but his biographer shows how earnestly Lord Mayo considered the matter before consenting to raise the tax to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for 1870-71, and how gladly he reduced it the following year to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. During the last few weeks of his life, the subject



was constantly in his thoughts, and the following words, written only a month before his death, seem to show that, had he lived, the tax would have been abolished :—

These papers throw more light upon the working of the Income Tax than anything I have yet read. I cannot accept the deduction that the 1 per cent. License Tax and the 1 per cent. Income Tax were not unpopular. With regard to the tax at the present [low] rate, all that is said is, that there is a feeling of relief. After such an *exposé* of the hardships that could be inflicted, we ought certainly to withhold our consent from any proposal which might continue the bare chance of such injustice, even if it effected a very limited number of people. It will rest with those who propose the continuance of the Income Tax in any shape to prove to demonstration that such a state of things can be effectively guarded against.

Regarding the suitability of the tax for India, Dr. Hunter gives, with his usual clearness, the views of the different schools of thinkers. We need only say here that we are of those who absolutely condemn it on the practical ground of the impossibility of realizing it without gross oppression. The press with one voice denounced it at the time of its imposition, and that Lord Mayo became strongly impressed with the same view, is shown by his letters to Lord Napier of Ettrick and the Duke of Argyll. To the former he wrote : "I am coming fast to the conclusion that we can hardly venture to impose, as a permanent part of our system, any direct taxation, whose collection cannot be placed almost entirely in the hands of European officials of good standing." And to the Duke of Argyll : "The feeling against the Income Tax continues in as great force as ever. There is much more reason than I at first supposed in the objections as regards its levy from the poorer natives, and I am inclined to think that no direct tax can be levied in India through the agency of native officials without causing much oppression. This is the real blot."

The following table given by Dr. Hunter shows 'to what extent the Earl of Mayo carried out his policy of economy and retrenchment :—

Year.	Revenue.		Ordinary Expenditure.
1867-68 ...	£48,429,644 ...	{ Years of Deficit preceding Lord Mayo's Rule ... }	£49,437,339
1868-69 ...	51,657,658 ...		54,431,688
1869-70 ...	50,901,081 ...	{ Year of Equilibrium ; his first year of office. }	50,782,413
1870-71 ...	51,413,685 ...	{ Years of Surplus ; his last two years of office. ... }	49,930,695
1871-72 ...	50,109,093 ...		46,984,915

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From this it will be seen that 'the three years of Lord Mayo's rule left a surplus of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions (reduced to stg.) and nearly redressed the deficit of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  millions during the three preceding years.' We conclude our consideration of this part of Dr. Hunter's book by quoting from a letter addressed to the author by Mr. Barclay Chapman, three years after Lord Mayo's death:—

Lord Mayo's close personal attention to financial questions never flagged. He had, by decisive measures, established steady surplus for chronic deficit; he had increased the working power of the Local Governments, while checking the growth of their demands upon the Imperial treasury. He had established a policy of systematic watchfulness, and severe economy. The time was now coming when the results of all his exertions and sacrifices were to be gathered; when the Viceroy would be able to gratify his nature by granting relief from the burdens which he had reluctantly imposed. Lord Mayo was occupied with such questions on the very journey which ended so fatally. He had reason to hope that effective remission of taxation would soon be practicable, but he was still uncertain what shape it ought to take. It should never be forgotten that the welcome measures of relief, which the Government subsequently found itself in a position to effect, were possible only in consequence of Lord Mayo's vigorous policy of retrenchment and economy. His career was cut off just when the fruit for which he had made such sacrifices was ripening.

He found serious deficit and left substantial surplus. He found estimates habitually untrustworthy; he left them thoroughly worthy of confidence. He found accounts in arrear, and statistics incomplete; he left them punctual and full. He found the relations between the Local Governments and the Supreme Government in an unsatisfactory condition, and the powers of the Local Governments for good hampered by obsolete financial bonds. He left the Local Governments working with cordiality, harmony, and freedom, under the direction of the Governor-General in Council. He found the Financial Department conducted with a general laxity; he left it in vigorous efficiency. And if the sound principles be adhered to, which Lord Mayo held of such importance, and which in his hands proved so thoroughly effective, India ought not again to sink into the state from which he delivered her.

The only important matter of military administration with which Lord Mayo was called upon to deal during his Viceroyalty, was the retrenchment of the expenditure on the Military Government of the country. Almost immediately after his assumption of the Viceregal seat, a despatch was received in India from the Duke of Argyll, pointing out that 'notwithstanding the numerical decrease in the forces since the mutiny, the expenditure on them had increased from  $12\frac{3}{4}$  millions sterling in 1856-57 to over 16 millions in 1868-69. He also alluded to the fact, that while a new and costly system of police had been organized, the expectations of any retrenchment based upon it had borne no fruit. The despatch concluded with a hope that the Viceroy would devise means to bring down the military expenditure in India by a million and a half sterling. Lord Mayo, assisted by Lord Sandhurst (Commander-in-Chief), Sir Henry Durand (Military Member of Council), and Sir Henry (then Colonel) Normian (Secretary in the Military Depart-



ment) carefully considered how the Secretary of State's wishes could be carried out without injuring the efficiency of the Army in India. They turned their attention to possible retrenchments in the Staff and in the Army departments, and to reductions in the European and Native Armies. They found it possible to retrench in the Staff to the extent of £46,065, and in the Military Department to the extent of £32,940—total £79,000; and this was promptly done. But the question of the reduction of troops was different and much more difficult to settle. After much consultation, however, and while earnestly protesting against the withdrawal of a 'single bayonet or sabre from India,' the Viceroy suggested measures which would result in a saving of nearly £950,000. Thus, he proposed that the number of European regiments should be reduced, but that each regiment should have its full complement of men, the total number of European soldiers remaining unchanged. The estimated annual saving in this way he put down at £297,220, in Cavalry and Infantry. A similar proposal to reduce the numbers of under-manned batteries of Artillery, and to render the remaining ones efficient by increasing their strength, would add £271,542 to the amount saved. Lord Sandhurst proposed in detail 'reductions, which he believed could be made in the Madras and Bombay regiments, with absolute safety as regards the military requirements of India, and with the minimum of irritation to the *esprit de corps* of local armies.' Sir Henry Durand went further and boldly proposed the entire abolition of the Madras and Bombay commands and of the Adjutant-Generals, and Quarter-Master-Generals of those Presidencies, and estimated that a saving of £60,000 would be the result. But 'the Viceroy felt that, however great the value to be attached to the opinions of military advisers like Lord Sandhurst and Sir Henry Durand, proposals of such magnitude might imperil the minor reforms and retrenchments which he felt within his grasp. The abolition of the costly three-fold organization of the the India Army would injure the prospects of a large and an influential body of officers in India and at Home, and raise a tempest of opposition in which all hope of reform or retrenchment of any sort would be wrecked. These schemes were not therefore permitted to find entrance into the despatches in which Lord Mayo conveyed to the Secretary of State the deliberate decision of his Government with reference to the Native Army.' The following were the reductions in the Native troops recommended in those despatches:—

			Saving.
4 Batteries or Companies of Artillery	...	£	17,003
4 Regiments of Cavalry	..	"	59,009
16 Regiments of Infantry	...	"	224,474
	Total	£	<u>300,486</u>



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We may briefly mention the result. The total annual saving which would have been effected had all the recommendations of Lord Mayo's Government been carried out, was £948,253: the portion of the scheme carried out effected a saving of £591,440 per annum. The Secretary of State sanctioned the retrenchments in the Indian Staff and Army departments, 'but he did not see his way to adopt, in their entirety, either of the other two series of measures, namely, those which affected the British regiments serving in India, or the reductions of the Native Army'. From the extracts given by Dr. Hunter from the letters and minutes of the Viceroy and his advisers, we gather that Lord Mayo was actuated by the same high notions and feelings in his treatment of this military problem, as were evident in his foreign and financial policy. He took a special and practical interest in all matters affecting directly or indirectly the welfare and comfort of the British soldier in India in barracks, hill-sanitaria, hospitals, and the Lawrence Asylum. 'Regimental workshops, exhibitions, and every device for keeping alive the mental vitality of the British soldier under the strain of the Indian climate, found in him a constant friend.'

The chapter headed 'Legislation under Lord Mayo' consists entirely of a letter written to Dr. Hunter by Mr. Fitz-James Stephen, in which he defends Lord Mayo's Government from the charge of over-legislation, and gives a very interesting account of the legislative business done during the time he was legal member of the Governor-General's Council. A mere list of the acts passed during Lord Mayo's tenure of office would not interest our readers. Among the most important of them may be mentioned the Evidence Act (1 of 1872), the Contract Act (IX of 1872), and the Code of Criminal Procedure (X of 1872). Writing of these Mr. Stephen says: 'That the Government of India was able to pass in 1872 the three great Acts, to which I have already referred, was principally due to Lord Mayo personally. If he personally had cared less about legislation, and had taken a less vigorous line about it, it would have been impossible to pass any one of those Acts.' And he concludes his letter with the following sentences:—

I do not like to trespass on what is your peculiar province in telling the story of Lord Mayo's life. But I cannot leave the subject without saying that, of the many public men whom it has been my fortune to meet in various capacities at Home and in India, I never met one to whom I felt disposed to give such heart-felt affection and honour. I hope you will succeed in making people understand how good and kind, how wise and honest and brave he was, and what freshness, vigour and flexibility of mind he brought to bear upon a vast number of new and difficult subjects.

Dr. Hunter *has* succeeded, in this delightful and valuable book, which we lay aside for the time with real regret, in showing Lord



Mayo's many noble qualities of heart and mind. We have already so far exceeded the space we had allowed ourselves that we cannot attempt, at this time, to give our readers an insight into Lord Mayo's internal administration. We may only in one sentence summarize its principal features. He visited many parts of the immense territories he governed, and saw and heard and noted many things which could not otherwise have come to his knowledge; he revolutionized the Public Works Department and shook it almost fiercely into something like order; reducing at the same time its annual expenditure by nearly two millions sterling; he organized a department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce; he bent his mind to a hundred subjects which cannot even be enumerated now—Jails, Railways, Statistics, Irrigation, Minerals, Horse-supply, &c. Finally he exercised a magnificent hospitality, and did more than full justice to the social duties of his position. He made innumerable friends and but few enemies, and the feeling towards him of all those immediately about him was one which would probably be more correctly described by a stronger term than friendship. The Aides-de-Camp, who stood over his coffin in the gloomy, black-draped Throne Room of Government House when his body lay in state, were not the only men there who shed tears. We conclude our notice of Dr. Hunter's book by an extract which will always have a melancholy interest for Indian readers. It is also one of the finest and most touching things the author has ever written. It is the account of Lord Mayo's last evening :—

On his way he said : ' We have still an hour of daylight, let us do Mount Harriet.' This had originally formed part of the day's programme, but the Private Secretary, according to his regular practice of so arranging each day's work as never to let it keep the Viceroy out after dark, had managed to get the visit postponed till next morning. Mount Harriet is a hill rising to 1116 feet, a mile and a half inland from the Hopetown Jetty. Its capabilities as a sanitarium had been much discussed, and Lord Mayo was anxious to compare the conflicting opinions he had received with his own impression on the spot. Malaria was the one enemy of the colony which remained, and the Viceroy was resolved to get the better of it. He desired, if possible, to provide a retreat where the fever patients might shake off their clinging malady. No criminals of a dangerous sort were quartered at Hopetown, the only convicts there being ticket-of-leave men of approved good conduct. However, the Superintendent at once despatched a boat with the guards from Chatham Island to the Hopetown Jetty, and followed with the Viceroy and party in the launch.

On landing at Hopetown a little after 5 P.M., the Viceroy found gay groups of his guests enjoying the cool of the day; and had a smile and a kind word for each as he passed. 'Do come up,' he said to one lady, 'you will have such a sunset!' But it was a stiff climb through the jungle, and only one recruit joined him. His own party was dead tired; they had been on their feet for six blazing hours, and Lord Mayo, as usual the freshest after a hard day, begged some of them to rest till he returned. Of course no one liked to give in, and the party dived into the jungle. When they came to the foot of the



## 438 *Lord Mayo, Fourth Viceroy of India.*

hill, the Viceroy turned round to his Aide-de-Camp, who was visibly fatigued now that the strain of the day's anxiety had relaxed, and almost ordered him to sit down. The Superintendent had sent on the one available pony, but Lord Mayo, at first objected to riding while the rest were on foot. When half way up, he stopped and said: 'It's my turn to walk now; one of you get on.' At the top he carefully surveyed the capabilities of the hill as a sanatorium. He thought he saw his way to improve the health of the settlement, and with the stern task of re-organisation to make a work of humanity go hand in hand. 'Plenty of room here' he cried, looking round on the island group, 'to settle two millions of men.' Presently he sat down, and gazed silently across the sea to the sunset. Once or twice he said quietly, 'How beautiful!' Then he drank some water. After another long look to the westward, he exclaimed to his Private Secretary; 'It's the loveliest thing I think I ever saw;' and came away.

The descent was made in close order, for it was now dark. About three-quarters of the way down, torch-bearers from Hopetown met the Viceroy and his attendant group of officials and guards. Two of his party who had hurried forward to the pier saw the intermittent gleam of the torches threading their way through the jungle; then the whole body of lights issued by the bridge-path from the wood, a minute's walk from the jetty. The *Glasgow* frigate lay out on the left with her long line of lights low on the water; the *Scotia* and *Dacca*, also lit up, beyond her; another steamer, *Nemesis*, was coaling nearer to Hopetown, on the right; the ship's bells had just rung seven. The launch, with steam up, was whizzing at the jetty stairs; a group of her seamen were chatting on the pier-end. It was now quite dark, and the black line of the jungle seemed to touch the water's edge. The Viceroy's party passed some large loose stones to the left at the head of the pier and advanced along the jetty, two torch-bearers in front, the light shining strongly on the tall form of Lord Mayo, in a grey tussler-silk coat, close between his Private Secretary and the Superintendent, the Flag-Lieutenant of the *Glasgow* and a Colonel of Engineers, a few paces behind, on left and right; the armed police between them, but a little nearer the Viceroy. The Superintendent turned aside, with Lord Mayo's leave, to give an order about the morning's programme; and the Viceroy stepped quickly forward before the rest to descend the stairs to the launch. The next moment the people in the rear heard a noise as of 'the rush of some animal' from behind the loose stones; one or two saw a hand and knife suddenly descend in the torch-light. The Private Secretary heard a thud, and instantly turning round, found a man 'fastened like a tiger' on the back of the Viceroy.

In a second twelve men were on the assassin; an English officer was pulling them off, and with his sword-hilt keeping back the native guards, who would have killed the assailant on the spot. The torches had gone out; but the Viceroy, who had staggered over the pier side, was dimly seen rising up in knee-deep water and clearing the hair off his brow with his hand as if recovering himself. His Private Secretary was instantly at his side, helping him up the bank. 'Burne' he said quietly 'they've hit me.' Then in a louder voice, which was heard on the pier, 'It's all right, I don't think I'm much hurt,' or words to that effect.\* In another minute he was sitting under the smoky glare of the re-lit torches, on a rude native cart, at the side of the jetty, his legs hanging loosely down. Then they lifted him bodily on to the cart, and saw a great dark patch on the back of his light coat. The blood came streaming out, and men tried to stanch it with their handkerchiefs. For a moment or two he sat up on the cart, then fell heavily backwards. 'Lift up my head,' he said faintly: and said no more.

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\* I use his own words.



They carried him down into the steam launch, some silently believing him dead. Others, angry with themselves for the bare surmise, cut open his coat and vest, and stopped the wound with hastily torn strips of cloth and the palms of their hand; others kept rubbing his feet and legs. Three supported his head. The assassin lay tied, stunned a few yards from him. As the launch shot on in the darkness, eight bells rang across the water from the ships. When it came near the frigate, where the guests were waiting for dinner, and jesting about some fish which they had caught for the meal, the lights in the launch were suddenly put out, to hide what was going on in it. They lifted Lord Mayo gently to his cabin. When they laid him down in his cot, every one saw that he was dead.

To all on board, that night stands out from among all other nights in their lives. A silence, which seemed as if it would never again be broken, suddenly fell on the holiday ship with its 600 souls. The doctors held their interview with the dead—two stabs from the same knife on the shoulder had penetrated the cavity of the chest, either of them sufficient to cause death. On the guest steamer there were hysterics and weeping; but in the ship where the Viceroy lay, the grief was too deep for any expression. Men moved about solitarily through the night, each saying bitterly to his own heart, 'Would that it had been one of us.' The anguish of her who received back her dead was not, and is not, for words.

At dawn the sight of the frigate in mourning, the flag at half-mast, the broad white stripe a leaden grey, all the ropes slack, and the yards hanging topped in dismal disorder, announced the reality to those on the other steamer who had persisted through the night in a sort of hysterical disbelief. On the frigate a hushed and solemn industry was going on. The chief officers of the Government of India on board assembled† to adopt steps for the devolution of the Viceroyalty. The trial of the murderer took place. And in a few hours, while the doctors were still engaged on their sad, secret task, one steamer had hurried north with the Member of Council to Bengal, another was ploughing its way with the Foreign Secretary to Madras, to bring up Lord Napier of Ettrick to Calcutta, as acting Governor-General. *Uno avulso, non deficit alter.* The frigate lay silent and alone. At half past nine that night, the partially embalmed body was placed in its temporary coffin on the quarter-deck, and covered with the Union Jack.

The assassin received the usual trial and the usual punishment for his crime. Shortly after he had been brought on board, in the launch which carried his victim, the Foreign Secretary asked him why he had done this thing. He only replied, 'By the order of God.' To the question, whether he had any associates in his act he answered, 'Among men I have no accomplice; God is my partner! Next morning, at the usual preliminary inquiry before the local Magistrate, when called to plead, he said, 'Yes, I did it.' The evidence of the eye-witnesses was recorded, and the prisoner committed for murder to the Sessions Court. The Superintendent, sitting as Chief Judge in the settlement, conducted the trial in the afternoon. The accused simply pleaded 'not guilty.' Each fact was established by those present when the deed was done; the prisoner had been dragged off the back of the bleeding Viceroy with the reddened knife in his hand. The sentence was to suffer death by hanging. The proceedings were forwarded in the regular way to the High Court at Calcutta for review. On the 20th February, this tribunal confirmed the sentence; and on the 11th March, the assassin was taken to the usual place of execution on Viper Island, and hanged.

The man was a highlander from beyond our North-Western frontier,

\* Sir Barrow H. Ellis (Member of Aitchison, C.S.I., Foreign Secretary, Council) presiding, with Mr. C. U. and others.



who had taken service in the Punjab Mounted Police, and been condemned to death at Peshawur for slaying his enemy on British soil. The evidence being chiefly circumstantial, his sentence was commuted to transportation for life to the Andamans. In his dying confession, years afterwards, he stated that although he had not struck the blow, he had conspired to do the murder. But the slaying of an hereditary foe in cold blood was no crime in his eyes; and ever since his conviction, in 1869, he said he had made up his mind to revenge himself by killing 'some European of high rank.' He, therefore established his character as a silent, doggedly well-behaved man; and in due time was set at large as a barber among the ticket-of-leave convicts at Hope-town. During three years he waited sullenly for some worthy prey. On the morning of the 8th February, when he heard the Royal Salute, he felt that his time had come, and sharpened a knife. He resolved to kill both the Superintendent and the Viceroy. All through the day the close surveillance gave him no chance of getting to the islands which Lord Mayo visited. Evening came, and his victims landed, unexpectedly, at his very door. He slipped into the woods, crept up Mount Harriet through the jungle side by side with the Viceroy; then dogged the party down again in the dark; but still got no chance. At the foot he almost gave up hope, and resolved to wait for the morrow. But as the Viceroy stepped quickly forward on the jetty, his grey-suited shoulders towering conspicuous in the torch-light, an impulse of despair thrilled through the assassin. He gave up all idea of life, rushed round the guards, and in a moment was on his victim's back. He was a hill-man of immense personal strength; and when heavily fettered in the condemned cell, overturned the lamp with his chained ankle, bore down the English sentry by brute strength of body, and wrenched away his bayonet with his manacled hands. He made no pretence of penitence, and was childishly vain of being photographed (for Police inquiries in Northern India) as the murderer of a Viceroy. Indeed, some of the above details were only got out of him by a native officer who cunningly begged him for materials for an ode on his deed, to be sung by his countrymen. Neither his name, nor that of his village or tribe, will find record in this book. The last words spoken to him on earth were a message from the family whom he had stricken: 'God forgive you, as we do.'

The passionate outburst of grief and wrath which then shook India, the slow military pomp of the slain Viceroy's re-entry into his capital, the uncontrollable fits of weeping in the chamber where he lay in state, the long voyage of the mourning ship, and the solemn ceremonial with which Ireland received home her dead son—all these were fitting at the time, and are past. Earth shuts him in, with his glories and his triumphs. Yesterday, said one of the Dublin papers, we saw a State solemnity vitalized, 'by the subtle spell of national feeling. Seldom are the two things united in an Irish public funeral. When imperial pomp is displayed, the national heart is cold, when the people pay spontaneous homage to the dead, the trappings of the State are absent, its voice mute; yesterday, for once, this ill-omened rule was broken, Government and the people united in doing homage on earth to an illustrious Irishman.' The Indian press had given vent to the wild sorrow of many races in many languages; the English newspapers were full of statelier, nobly expressed tributes; Parliamentary chiefs had their well chosen utterances for the nation's loss. But Lord Mayo, as he sat on the top of the sea-girt hill, and gazed towards the West, where his dear home lay beyond the sunset, would have prized that united silent mourning of his countrymen above any articulate panegyric. They laid him at last in the secluded graveyard which he had chosen on his own land.



## ART. XII.—THE BLACK PAMPHLET.

*The Black Pamphlet. The Famine of 1874.* By Ubique. Calcutta: W. Newman and Co., 3 Dalhousie Square.

THE author of this pamphlet is very much afraid lest his production should be regarded as a political squib. "This is no political squib; we write in thorough earnest." One is irresistibly reminded of the boy who was afraid that he had been satirical when he had called one of his schoolfellows a big fool. If *The Black Pamphlet* is anything of the nature of a squib, it must have been left out in the rain and got wet; it certainly sputters a little, but we fail to discover a single spark of genuine fire. Here we have sixty pages of the dreariest and most stupid abuse that we have ever read, spiteful without point, the outpouring of stolid Bœotian malice; and the author has the impudence to call himself UBIQUE, and to be afraid of being thought satirical! How are the sprightly fallen, when the *nom de plume* so well known to Calcutta readers of a dozen years ago is disgraced by being assumed by a tedious and conceited libeller! Poor Tom Anderson—he might have forgiven the libels, if the man who stole his name would only consent to be witty or even amusing; but it would make him turn in his grave to know that his *avatâr* gives himself the airs of a Junius in the language and with the wit of a penny-a-liner.

Under ordinary circumstances, we should not have cared to notice such a production in these pages. As a literary performance, it is beneath contempt. The author seems to have got a glimpse of this truth by the time he comes to his last paragraph; with a modesty that is laughable after so much naive assumption, he apologises for "many short-comings" with the excuse that "these pages have been written in haste"—rather a curious fact, considering that the pamphlet is published in the last days of 1875 whilst the final Report on the Famine was published in November 1874. However, we may be thankful for small mercies; if Junius Junior writes "in haste" with such wearisome prolixity, what might he not have done if he had taken his time about it!

We think it right to point out the real nature and animus of the pamphlet, mainly for the sake of our readers in England—where Ubique, with a cunning discretion that does him credit, proposes (he tells us) to make his *tour de force*. English readers, in their ignorance of the facts, may not improbably be all the more ready to swallow the mis-statements of the pamphlet, because of its stupidity; such a writer, they will argue, would hardly

come forward except for a very good cause this must be the feigned drivelling of a Brutus, playing the fool for his country's good. If we can prove to the satisfaction of these readers that the *raison d'être* of the book is only the gratification of the petty spite, probably of a disappointed man—if we can prove that the statements made in it are as false as they are malicious, and that the conclusions are arrived at by deliberately dishonest processes—we shall be satisfied.

We must be careful not to gratify Ubique's vanity and give his venom and folly undue importance, by any lengthy examination. We shall content ourselves with typical instances only: to wade through the whole tangled mass would be unnecessarily to disgust our readers, and we must have some consideration for our Bengal readers with whom the farce has long ago been played out. Every artifice known to Grub Street has been tried to awaken and keep awake the interest of Calcutta in the book, and in vain. The only good things about it—its title, and its author's pseudonym suggestive of Captain Anderson's pleasant writings—were freely advertised day after day in all the papers. Then came the *canard*, industriously circulated, that Sir Richard Temple was engaged on an answer to *The Black Pamphlet*; and again recently, the still more ridiculous and audacious statement, that a Royal Commission was likely to be the result of this tremendous satire! We shall soon be told that the Queen spends her days and nights in studying it, and that the Pope is preparing an annotated edition with the kind permission of the author. Audacity is in some things the secret of success; but Ubique has overshot the mark—his audacity is too much like the inflation of the frog in the fable.

The title is obviously plagiarized from the well-known *Red Pamphlet* of Colonel Malleon. Opinions differ widely as to the justice and the accuracy of the gallant Colonel's views; but no one, we believe, has ever disputed the keen point and wonderful power of his satire. The *Red Pamphlet* was nothing if not severe: and it is up to this that Ubique is obviously writing. "We shall have, we ourselves confess, to be severe in our references to Sir Richard Temple. We regret having to do so. We shall, as far as possible, stay our hand." Says Bobadil, "Pon my soul, I do not wish to do thee a mischief, but zounds! beware my valiant spirit." Ubique figuring as Colonel Malleon is something of a burlesque. The lion's skin is there, and the lion shall roar you like any sucking dove; but the ass's ears peep out.

After this magnanimous resolve not to demolish Sir Richard Temple all at once, we are not surprised to find the mud flying fast and thick. Sir Richard, of course, comes in for the bulk of



it; but the splashes that fall to the share of the others, are not bad specimens of the art of vituperation. Lord Northbrook has shown "invincible ignorance," p. 9; he "has not been able to obtain any of the more honoured posts in England which success in politics gives to English Statesmen," p. 10; English and Indian charity was prostituted, and "so prostituted with full knowledge of Lord Northbrook," p. 20. When we read, p. 11, that the members of the Civil Service are in the habit of making an "after-dinner" jest of the "once respected name and motives" of Sir Richard Temple, we expect to find civilians at any rate secure from the abuse of a writer who thus appears so anxious to drag them in as his allies. Let us see what Ubique has to say about the Civil Service. First, the Commissioners of Division. The Commissioners, we are informed at p. 11, are the men "who winked at the estimates." But perhaps these grave and reverend seniors are not included among the after-dinner jesters by Ubique; what has he to say about the District officers? The answer is at p. 15:—"Was there no one to enlighten him in his pitiable ignorance? Where were the Collectors, the well-paid Executive Officers? *We shall never know the cause of their silence.*" What, both Divisional and District officers hopelessly gone astray? Then we shall doubtless find the faithful Abdiels in the Sub-Divisions? Let us see; at p. 18, "the Sub-divisional officers shrieked that the rates were ludicrous, and Sir Richard Temple produced their valuable opinions in a very pathetic minute!" What, all gone wrong?—Commissioners, Collectors, Assistants, all? Commissioners winking, Collectors treacherously silent, Assistants shrieking! This is Ubique's picture of the Civil Service.

But the Executive may be otherwise divided than into Commissioners, Collectors and Assistants: there are Haileybury men and Competition-Wallahs. Ubique is determined that no fish shall escape his net. Of the Haileybury men he says, p. 14, "amongst the good things these gentlemen have secured for themselves are all the best appointments in Behar, which has a much more pleasant and healthy climate than the swampy and feverish districts of Bengal Proper." Selfish wretches! We must put you out of Court; we must look for honesty and courage only among the Competition-wallahs. Once more let us see what Ubique has to say: at p. 14, "Indeed we must say that many of the new civilians do not come at all well out of this famine business. They were pre-eminently the bears of the occasion. It is not without some pity we observe this fact. They are mostly rather down in the Indian official world, they are poor, and it is to be feared that when they saw the chance of distinction they rushed blindly on."

Alas, this is worse than ever! The state of Denmark seems hopelessly rotten; from winking Commissioners to "bearing" Competition-wallahs, the whole official world of Behar is hopelessly corrupt. But stay, there is hope yet; perhaps amongst the non-officials of Behar, the princely planters, whose hospitality, generosity and public spirit have been proverbial—amongst these we shall find the ten righteous men to save the province from the wrath of Heaven? Ubique's settlement of this point has the merit of being singularly terse and pithy, so that we are not kept long in suspense: at p. 11, the planters—"POCKETED THE LOOT!"

We think we have said enough to show the animus of this nameless and secret libeller, who first declares that there is a "oneness of condemnation risen up against Sir Richard Temple," and then vilifies in turn every class of Englishmen in the country for their support of Sir Richard Temple's actions. The arguments by which he pretends to show that the Famine expenditure was extravagant, are such as might be expected from such a writer. Let us consider for a moment the argument which he allows to be the fundamental one: and that we may be quite certain of putting it before our readers correctly and impartially, we will quote the passage *in extenso*.—

As to the so-called famine of 1874, we declare it was *an impossibility from the beginning*. It was said to arise from drought, but there was no such drought as in 1865. *In fact there was as much rain in 1873, as in at least a dozen years during the twenty from 1855 to 1875.* Let us take a single district as an instance, one marked by both Sir George Campbell and Sir Richard Temple as a famine tract. We will give many more further on, but only one at present. There is a single first-class meteorological station in Behar. It is situated at Monghyr. For many years, even before the time of the Orissa famine, a special establishment has been employed to register its rainfall. Its returns therefore may be taken as more correct than those of ordinary districts where the Civil Surgeon and his clerk keep rainfall registers, and not always very carefully. Getting only 30 Rupees a month for doing so, a pittance which, we lately heard, is to be withdrawn, they have not had much reason to think very highly of the importance of this part of their duties. In the sixteen years, from 1860 to 1875, the total rainfall of each year has been:—in 1860, 27 inches; in 1861, 60 inches; in 1862, 40 inches; in 1863, 41 inches; in 1864, 42 inches; in 1865, 37 inches; in 1866, 45 inches; in 1867, 43 inches; in 1868, 32 inches; in 1869, 37 inches; in 1870, 71 inches; in 1871, 58 inches; in 1872, 41 inches; in 1873, 42 inches; in 1874, 60 inches; and in 1875, 46 inches.

Need we comment on these returns? The total rainfall of 1873, was greater than that of 1860, of 1862, of 1863, of 1865, of 1866, of 1868, of 1869, and of 1872: and equal, or nearly equal to that of 1861, of 1864, of 1870, and of 1871; and only 5 inches short of the average fall of the sixteen years, which was 47 inches. But we will be told that the late rice crop depends on rain, in the latter rainy months of August, September, and October. We are willing to consider the position of things in 1873 as tested by the rainfall of these months. The average fall of the sixteen years from 1860 to 1875 during August, September, and October was 27 inches. During



the same months of 1860 it was 13 inches; of 1864, 12 inches; of 1865, 7½ inches; of 1867, 17 inches; of 1868, 16 inches; of 1869, 15 inches; of 1873, the year of the drought ! ! ! ! 19 inches. We are really afraid the public will not believe our figures, yet, we hereby challenge Sir Richard Temple to produce authentic ones differing one-half inch from them. Excepting the years of excessive rainfall, 1861, with 60 inches, and 1870 with 71 inches, we declare the rainfall of 1873 both in its total amount and in the quantity, which fell in the important months of August, September, and October, a good average rainfall.—pp. 7, 8.

Now, what are the real facts—facts perfectly well-known and indeed familiar to every one who has taken the slightest interest in the matter—facts which no stress of charity can possibly suppose Ubique to be ignorant of? We do not dispute his figures, we have not even taken the trouble to examine them—they are entirely outside the question, as Ubique probably knows, though he marshals them with so much solemnity. The great, the fatal cause of the Famine was, not the deficient rainfall of the whole year—though even at Monghyr (artfully chosen by Ubique as a comparatively favourable instance)\* it was terribly deficient; not the deficient rainfall on the total of the three months of August, September, and October—though still at Monghyr, and with Ubique's own figures, it is seen to have been *thirty per cent* short of even an average rain-fall: but it *was* the fact that whilst, throughout a great part of the distressed districts, so much rain fell during the early part of the quarter as to do a great deal of damage (and to afford Ubique his honest, his ingenuous average for the quarter!), *not one drop fell during the whole of October and part of September!*† Let our readers keep this simple fact in their minds whilst they read over again the words of Ubique quoted above; we willingly leave them to form their own conclusions about Ubique's honesty.

The charitable will perhaps think that he must have been ignorant of the fact: let them turn to his account of Dinagepore at page 46:—"The rain in the months of August and September 1865, was 17 inches, in 1873 it was 16 inches. *In neither year was there any in October!*"

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\* Compare with it Bogra, with an average rainfall of 88½ inches, rainfall in 1873, 37 inches; Bhagulpore, average 48-6, in 1873, 28-9; or Rajmahal, average 50, in 1873, 24 inches!

† The rains virtually ceased about the tenth of September! Before that date, there had been such an excessive rainfall in many districts (and notably in Monghyr!) as greatly

to injure the prospects of the crops! Every Bengali knows that, for good crops, we need light rain in August and a heavy downpour in September. In the whole history of pamphleteering, we doubt whether a more dishonest statement could be found than this precious *average* of the rainfall "in the important months of August, September, and October."

We have promised our readers only to take typical instances of Ubique's mis-statements, for fear of wearying and disgusting them; so we will only briefly indicate some other points in which *The Black Pamphlet* is blacker than usual. The author proves that the relief operations in Behar were extravagant, from the cheapness and comparative insignificance of those in the adjacent districts of the North-West Provinces; whilst everyone knows that all the border authorities were of opinion that the mortality in Busti, Gorakhpore, and the adjoining districts would have been frightful, but for the proximity of the Behar relief operations. Again, no responsible writer has ever hitherto dared to hint that the scarcity of 1865-66 (though it carried off 32,000 people in Chumparun alone) approached in intensity, for Behar and North Bengal, that of 1873-74; Ubique calmly argues as if they were very much of the same nature—the former for choice being probably worse than the latter! But perhaps the most amusing, because the most stupid, part of the whole pamphlet is that which sets forth an elaborate series of calculations based on this supposed similarity between the scarcities of 1866 and 1874. Taking the actual number of people who died of starvation in each district in 1866, Ubique gravely declares that it would have been sufficient in 1874, if Government had provided relief for a certain multiple of this number—proposing in this way not only to save those who would otherwise die, but also to relieve those who would otherwise suffer severe privation.\*

\* To make this point clearer, we will take a district and suppose it dealt with according to Ubique's wishes. Ubique shall freely write himself down an ass; we will take his own figures, grant all his assumptions, and then see where he would land us.

Let us take the district of Tirhoot, with its huge population of four and a half millions. Let us assume that only half the population of Tirhoot depends on rice for food; and that the remaining half, feeding on other grains, millets, &c., will be in no way affected by the loss of the rice crop—i.e., that the price of other food-grains will not be affected. Let us assume that the people who do feed on rice, only consume half-a-seer a day (which is Ubique's liberal allowance!) a head—rich consuming no more than poor. Our readers will allow that we are giving Ubique a good long tether. Taking even these

figures, Tirhoot requires rather more than 28,000 maunds of rice a day, or about 850,000 maunds a month. Ubique is willing to allow that more or less relief may be required for eight months, because in 1866 the 24,000 deaths that occurred from starvation were distributed over the months from April to November, inclusive. During these eight months the total requirements of Tirhoot, taking Ubique's figures, are about 6,800,000 maunds. Now Ubique (making his computation in the way indicated above) declares that Government ought to have provided, as relief, not more than 187,027 maunds—or say, 200,000 maunds; and is triumphant when he shows that this amount would feed twenty times the whole number of people that died in 1866! That is, he proposes that the relief provided should be rather less than 3 per cent. of the actual requirements (even on his



This prodigy of administrative wisdom is ignorant of the fact, which would be patent to the youngest and most inexperienced Assistant in Bengal, that the relief thus doled out could not by any possibility be assigned to the exact people who may be destined by Providence to suffer or die unless it be given. The prophet has never yet arisen who could make such a selection—or indeed *any* selection amongst the myriads of a poverty-stricken population, except the very rough and elastic one that can be effected by a judicious arrangement of the conditions of relief. Ubique's dole would in practise be spread over, not only the thousands who would suffer or die without it, but also the millions who are pinched by the scarcity; and under such circumstances, how much relief, we would ask, is likely to reach each famine-stricken wretch? Systems of relief may doubtless be devised, and indeed were successfully worked in the late famine, by which the greatest sufferers *in posse* may absorb the lion's share of the relief; but only the greatest ignorance or stupidity could hope to restrict the relief to such.

We have neither time nor patience to analyse this precious production further: but the reader will find on every page fallacious statements not less absurd than those we have now pointed out. The author concludes with a hope "that some allowance will be made for a pamphlet *dedicated to the one object of advancing the truth!*" As the grocer said to his assistant, "John, have you sanded the sugar?"—"Yes, sir." "Have you dusted the pepper?"—"Yes, Sir."—"Have you watered the vinegar?"—"Yes, Sir."—"Then John, *come to prayers.*"

own showing) "of the district!—or, to put it in another way, in every seer that is absolutely required to keep a man from starvation (and that must be provided either from the stores and crops in the district or from relief), Government should provide against any deficiency by affording relief to the extent of—half a chittack!





## CRITICAL NOTICES.

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### VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

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*Pānini.* By Rajanikānta Gupta. Calcutta: G. C. Ráy and Company. Samvat 1933.

THIS work is of considerable historical value. It is an attempt by a Bengali scholar trained to European modes of thought and criticism, to fix the date of the greatest Grammarian, perhaps, that the world has ever produced. Bábu Rajanikānta Gupta is favourably known to Anglo-Indian readers as the author of *Jayadeva-Charita*, noticed in a previous issue of this *Review*; and we have great pleasure in being able to say that his present work will sustain the reputation he has already achieved. We are afraid, however, that the style is not so easy or flowing as Bengali readers generally like; but we cannot hold the author wholly responsible for this apparent fault, which the controversial nature of the subject to some extent necessitates.

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*Karnárjuna.* By Baladev Pálit.

THE *Karnárjuna* of Bábu Baladev Pálit is, in our opinion, about the greatest poem in modern Bengali literature. Bengali scholarship must have advanced immensely to be able to accomplish this wonderful performance. We have seen nothing comparable to *Karnárjun* in modern Bengali since the *Meghnád-badha* of the late lamented Michael Madhu Sudan Datta made its appearance. The style is vigorous and the expressions choice, and fuller justice has at last been done to the chivalric valor of *Karna*.

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*Sambandha Nirnaya.* By Lálmohan Vidyánidhi. Calcutta: New School-book Press.

THIS is a useful book, written in a tolerably clear style, and conveying valuable information concerning the usages of the various castes in Bengal. Laborious research and methodical arrangement are shown in every page of it, and we confidently recommend it to the favourable notice of the Bengali reading public.

*Anubikshana.* Edited by Haris Chandra Sarmá.

FOUR numbers of a monthly medical journal named the *Anubikshan* by Bábu Haris Chandra Sarmá are before us. The Editor is a most energetic and practical man, and has brought the results of various reading and experience to bear upon what he evidently desires to be considered his last effort to benefit his countrymen.

*Gymnastics.* Pts. I and II. By Haris Chandra Sarmá.

BABU Haris Chandra Sarmá's *Gymnastics*, in two parts, is a useful little work, and written in his usually graceful style. We would recommend its practical use in every school in Bengal.

## 2.—GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Seringapatam Past and Present. A Monograph.* By Colonel G. B. Malleson, C.S.I. Author of *The History of the French in India.* Madras: Higginbotham & Co., 1876.

WE are always glad to welcome any addition to Indian literature from the lively pen of Colonel Malleson. This clever and versatile author has large personal claims on the *Calcutta Review*, which we gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging. For many years he was a tower of strength to the *Review*, at one time as Editor, and at others as one of our most frequent and valued contributors. The *History of the French in India*, long universally recognised as the standard work on the subject of which it treats, appeared first in a serial form in our pages; and we recognise in *Seringapatam Past and Present*, the same powers of vivid narration and graphic description that charmed our readers in those earlier papers. Since the time when the *Red Pamphlet* fluttered the Volscians in Corioli, Colonel Malleson's style has become more mellow and genial; but the enchanter's wand has lost none of its old power.

In about sixty pages of vigorous narrative the author has given us a complete sketch of the history of Seringapatam, and a most vivid picture of its present condition and appearance; with a detailed account of its two great sieges, and of the curious episode of the mutiny of the garrison under Colonel Bell against the authority of Sir George Barlow in 1809. To the traveller or the new-comer in Mysore this admirable account will be invaluable; whilst for the student of Mysorean history, Colonel Malleson's unrivalled knowledge of the subject and his careful research, make the book a standard authority.



*Milton's Paradise Lost. With Notes for Indian Students.* By John Bradshaw, M.A., Senior Moderator in History, Literature, and Law, Trinity College, Dublin. Madras : Addison & Co., 1876.

MOST of our readers are aware that in the great Indian Colleges the masterpieces of English Literature are studied minutely and critically, just as the Latin and Greek Classics are studied in our Home Universities. One remarkable and valuable result of this is the appearance of a number of carefully edited and closely annotated editions of English classics, primarily intended for the use of Indian students, but at the same time of the highest interest and value to all those whose tastes lead them to appreciate and study the glorious productions of English genius. One of the first and most excellent of these editions was that of Milton's *Areopagitica*, by the late Mr. Lobb, Principal of the Kishnaghur College ; which, as was pointed out by Mr. Routledge the other day in the *London Examiner*, was a perfect marvel of laborious research and profound scholarship. The great defect of Mr. Lobb's work, and one which we happen to know he himself recognised, was the absence of Milton's *ipsissima verba* : the "modernised version" given by Mr. Lobb, though of the highest value to a student, and especially to an Indian student, seemed something very like sacrilege, when put forward as a text and not in the form of notes.

In the handsome volume before us, we have both a critically-edited recension of the text of the greatest of England's epics, and also a mass of notes and illustrations which, for diligent and scholarly research, rival those of Mr. Lobb on Milton's greatest prose work. Following in the wake of such eminent annotators as Bentley, Todd, Warton, Newton, Keightley, and (last not least) Professor Masson, Mr. Bradshaw, in his careful and generally just criticism, presents us with an admirable view of the latest results of modern research as brought to bear on the *Paradise Lost*. Looking at the convenient size of his book and its moderate price, the amount of new and valuable information it contains is indeed wonderful ; the students of Indian Colleges have to thank Mr. Bradshaw for a volume that the poorest may buy and use, and that will give them as clear an insight into the meaning of the 'divine epic,' and as full a knowledge of the strength and beauty of Milton's language, as can be obtained from any source with which we are acquainted.

Much of Mr. Bradshaw's criticism is necessarily minute and verbal ; and this has been objected to as a defect by some. For instance, in the notes on the first book, more than six pages are devoted to an exhaustive account of the history of the genitive case of the neuter Pronoun. But, so far from regarding

this as a defect, we regard the fact as the best proof of the industry and thoroughness with which Mr. Bradshaw has done his work.

Another admirable feature in Mr. Bradshaw's notes is the profusion of parallel passages which he gives to illustrate every difficulty. The only true way of learning the exact meaning of a difficult word or phrase is to study its history, and observe its use in the best authors. Half-a-dozen parallel passages, skilfully chosen from standard works, teach a student more about a word or phrase than as many pages of incomplete synonyms or unintelligible periphrases.

We have no doubt that Mr. Bradshaw's book will be used in every college in India; and we confidently recommend its adoption as a class-book. We shall be surprised if it does not also find its way into many English as well as native homes.

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*Essays on the External Policy of India.* By the late J. W. S. Wyllie, M.A., C.S.I., H. M.'s India Civil Service: Sometime Acting Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. Edited, with a Brief Life, by W. W. Hunter, B.A., LL.D., H.M.'s India Civil Service. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1875.

**W**E have to thank Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co. for a copy of this most luxurious volume. The collected essays of one of the most talented men that have ever come to India—the trusted exponent of Sir John Lawrence's Foreign Policy—form a work that is too important to be fairly treated of in a short *Critical Notice* such as we can afford to its consideration in our present number: we therefore intend to return to it in an early issue. In the mean time, we heartily congratulate Dr. Hunter on the admirable way in which he has performed the task—evidently with him a labour of love—of putting before the public the works of his lamented comrade in a form creditable alike to author and editor.

